NEW MASSES

August 21, 1945 15¢ In Canada 20¢

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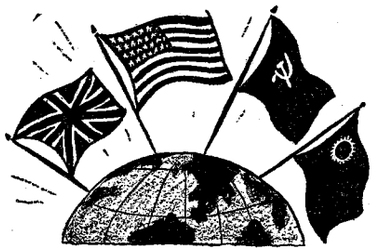

NEW MASSES

VOL. LVI AUGUST 21, 1945 NO. 8

WHETHER or not Japan has actually surrendered by the time this appears in print, the military debacle of Japanese fascist imperialism is a fact and the war for all practical purposes is over. In a few breathless days, history, propelled by two gigantic explosive forces, the atomic bomb and the Soviet entry into the Far Eastern war, rushed headlong to the inevitable climax. The long arc of world conquest, which began fourteen years ago with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and was later extended by Hitler Germany over the whole of Europe, has returned to its starting point as an arc of shattering, humiliating defeat. The armies of the United Nations, bearing freedom in bullet and bomb, stand triumphant in Europe and Asia.

For millions these are days of great release, of surging joy that the long agony is over. GI's celebrating in the streets of New York, London, Paris, Manila, average people in American towns and cities for whom the last hours of waiting have been a dam that would crack with an exultant roar—the whole of America has been one, filled with wordless happiness that victory was virtually here, that soon those who have faced death for months and years, sons and brothers and husbands and sweethearts, would be home, back to living again.

For millions these are also days of great promise. The fascists have been beaten, mankind can breathe again. The great work of liberation has begun. And we in America have learned our own strength and the strength that comes to us from the comradeship of other nations.

But for millions too these are days of great foreboding. The war has left much unfinished business. What fascism has sown cannot be uprooted merely with guns and planes and tanks—or even with atomic bombs. We do not yet know exactly what Allied policy toward Japan will be—the Potsdam declaration of July 26 was couched in general terms—but the experience of the last three months in Germany shows that words do not always mean the same in the English that is spoken in top American and British circles as in the international language of ordinary folk. This has been a people's war—no war in history has been more just—but it is still necessary to continue the battle to make it in the fullest sense a people's peace. In Japan, as in Germany, the victory of the United Nations will not be complete and the peace will not be strong unless measures are taken to destroy the economic roots of fascism and aggression, monopoly capital, together with all reactionary social and political institutions.

For Americans headlines like "5,000,0000 EXPECTED TO LOSE ARMS JOBS," "EMPLOYERS, LABOR ASKED TO FIND JOBS MID NEW CUTBACKS" provided a sombre counterpoint to the news of imminent Japanese surrender. We are not prepared for the peace. We are not prepared for it and are in fact in danger of going into an economic tailspin

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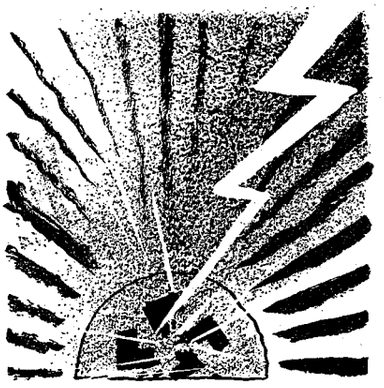
because big business, having accumulated a great deal of fat during the war, resists all proposals to plan for the lean days that may face the rest of the population—and because Congress, the administration and the war agencies have by and large heeded the wishes of big business rather than the warnings of labor. Millions of Americans—workers, farmers, small businessmen, white collar and professional people—today look toward the future with mounting dread. They remember that a man named Franklin D. Roosevelt only a year and half ago projected a new bill of economic rights. They know that America at war provided a job for every man and woman who was able and willing to work, and they expect the same of America at peace. They are asking honest questions and want honest answers. Unfortunately, there is no lack of quacks and demagogues to make confusion worse confounded. As the war neared its end, Herbert Hoover sounded off about "Communism sweeping over Europe" and "collectivism" in our own country—a reminder that we have come through this gigantic war against fascism with our own Lavals and Goebbels' untouched, eagerly awaiting their prey in the returning veteran or jobless worker or bankrupt small businessman.

Yet fundamentally mankind is not repeating an ancient cycle, but struggling forward to something new. The epochal victory that has been won and the new popular forces that have been roused in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and within our own country create unparalleled opportunities for democratic advance. The Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam agreements are milestones on the way. All that has been gained thus far makes more difficult American financial dictation to other countries, continued British oppression in India, the reactionary policies of the Chungking cabal, and weakens the forces of evil everywhere. The atomic bomb is symbol of the great social potentialities that can be released once the energies of the people are fully tapped—a symbol which in the Soviet Union has been confirmed by the reality of socialist life.

In our country we are confronted not only with a threat but with an opportunity. The initiative and leadership of the labor movement, emerging strengthening from the war, can be decisive. This is true not only of reconversion problems, but of all phases of domestic and foreign policy. The thinking men and women of all classes look to labor as the backbone of a great democratic coalition, supporting every progressive measure of the Truman administration, fighting every reactionary current in and out of government, working to strengthen the unity of the Big Three, making the battle for 60,000,000 jobs and the economic bill of rights the battle of all America. We can make FDR's slogan of "democracy—and more democracy" meaningful for all Americans, Negro as well as white. The challenge of the peace is perhaps even greater than that of the war. Let us meet that challenge without fear or evasion.



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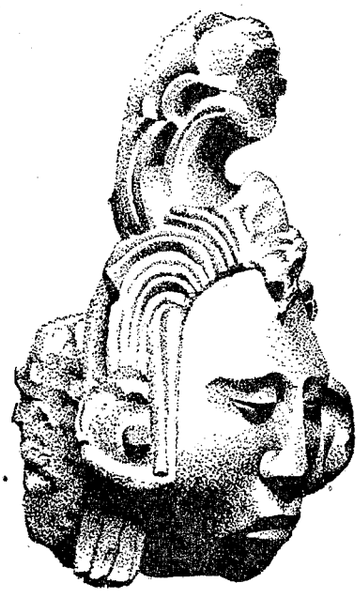

TWILIGHT OF THE SUNGOD

By COLONEL T.

IT MAKES little difference whether or not Japan surrenders before these lines reach the reader. The Rising Sun has set for a long time, if not forever. Of this there is not a shadow of a doubt.

It took the United States and their allies just a trifle over forty-four months to defeat Japan. Of these forty-four months we were on the defensive for eight months and on the offensive for thirty-six months. The long trek from Guadalcanal to Borneo and Luzon and from the approaches to Midway, to Okinawa and Tokyo Bay took three years almost to a day. Our military operations during these three years of warfare which have no precedents in the history of war were brilliant (we can't say "most brilliant" because there is no standard of comparison for them).

As a result of these operations an area approximately equivalent to the continent of Africa was swept clear of enemy forces. Other enemy forces within this tremendous expanse of island-dotted ocean were blockaded and left to wither away, living on "victory-gardens." Our "floating power" reached Okinawa and Luzon and from there our "aerial artillery" began to bite into the "big intestine" of Japan which linked its two "stomachs" in Manchuria and Northern China, and in Southern China and the regions below the Tropic of Cancer. As a result the rich area below the Tropic of Cancer, containing many of the strategic raw materials Japan went after when she embarked on her Big Ocean War, was cut off from the homeland and the armies defending it virtually isolated. We say "virtually" because, unfortunately, the armies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek were not able to rend the "big intestine" apart, in spite of their efforts in the region of Kweilin-Hengyang.

Simultaneously with our aerial attacks on the Japanese in China, our surface task forces suddenly appeared before Japan and started bombarding the home islands with plane and gun. As a result Japanese home industries suffered severe losses and the morale of the Japanese people was undermined not only by the actual blasts of the bombs, but also by a feeling of utter helplessness. It was one thing to tell the Japanese people what their fliers were "doing" to us in far away theaters of the war, and another to explain away things that happened before their very eyes.

In this powerful advance which reached the inner Sea of Japan and the Japanese air bases and airdromes on the home islands the bulk of the Japanese navy was destroyed and the greater part of the Japanese air force annihilated (mostly on the ground). Thus the two basic branches of the service with which Japan started out on its Oceanic War were emasculated and reduced to impotence.

THERE remained the army, which had suffered but little in the stubborn, bloody and difficult—but small-scale—actions on the islands of the Pacific, from Guadalcanal and Tarawa to Luzon, Okinawa and Iwo. The Japanese home islands have an area of about 150,000 square miles. At the peak of her aggressive expansion Japan held a total of about 2,000,000 square miles of territory. Of these 2,000,000 square miles Japan, Korea, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia (Chahar and Jehol) form the most solid block of territory and have a combined area of about 1,000,000 square miles, or half of the maximum total held by Japan at any time. It was logical that the Japanese army, the warden of the continent of Asia, should be largely concentrated in that block of territory. The Kwantung army, which is the Japanese designation

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for the core of their continental army, settled down in Manchukuo a generation ago. It took firm root, not only militarily and administratively, but also economically. It ran industries, railroads, even stores and brothels.

Most of its officers and men lived better in Manchuria than they had ever lived in Japan. They were actually more than troops of occupation, more than metropolitan troops in the colonies—they were military expatriates by choice, squarely installed in the occupied country and growing prosperous. An excellent network of railroads, many of purely strategic importance, a series of ports on the Japan Sea and the Yellow Sea, great mines and factories and productive fields made the Kwantung army of probably close to 1,000,000 crack troops, plus hundreds of thousands of puppet troops, a self-sufficient strategic unit. Even the obedience of the Kwantung army chiefs to Tokyo has proved doubtful in some instances when that army took independent action without waiting for orders from home.

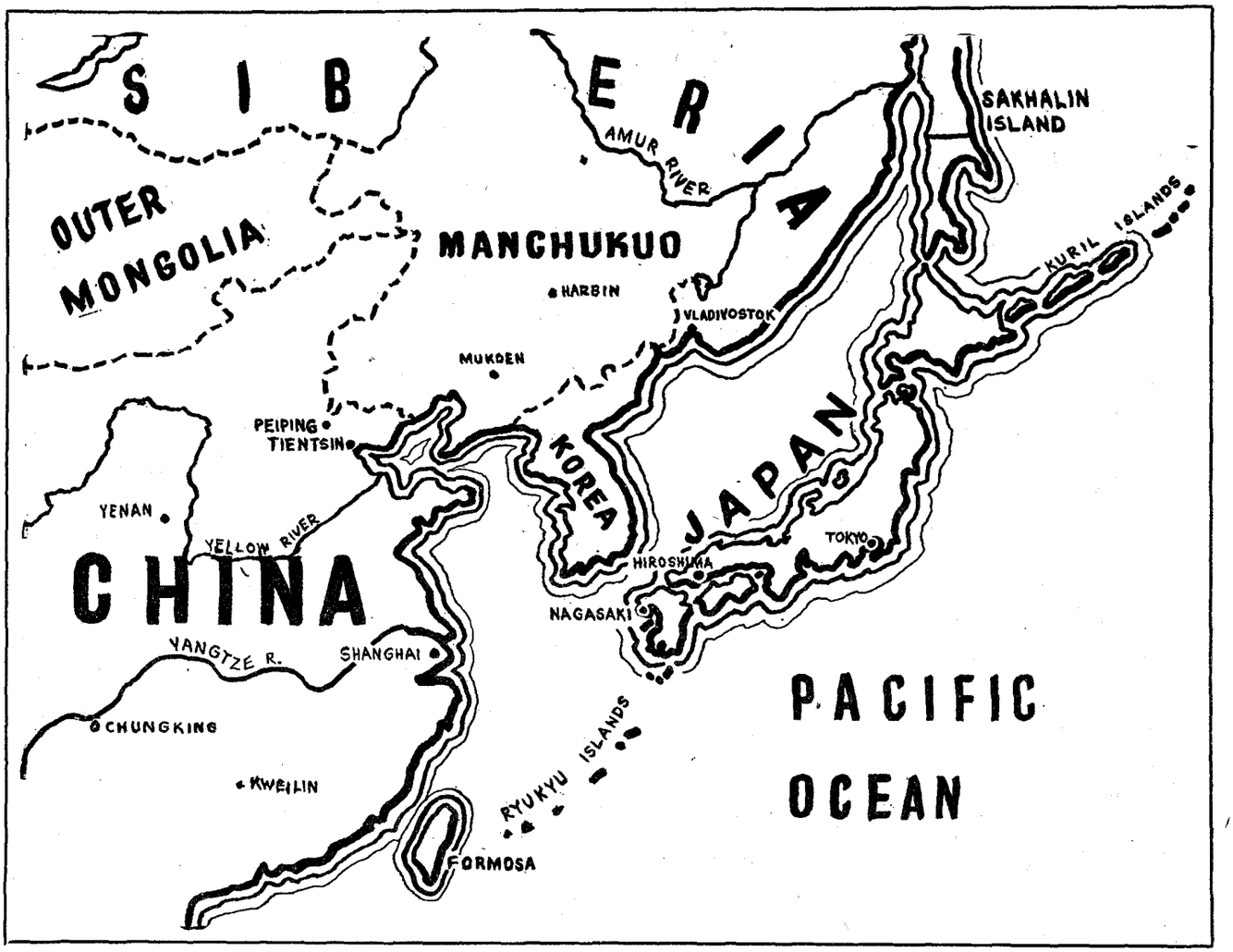
This big force has been sitting for fourteen years in the great boxlike area marked by the Amur in the northeast, the Argun in the northwest and the Ussuri in the southeast, with its heart in the industrial and transportation hub of Harbin. The very richness of its base, as well as its geographical boxed-in location, deprived the Kwantung army of strategic initiative. It was too rich and comfortable to wish to move away somewhere else and the threat from across the three rivers made it impossible to move elsewhere, even if it had wished to do so.

And so it came to pass that at the crucial moment the bulk of the best Japanese divisions were unable to maneuver in order to take measures of protection against probable American landings on the coast of China, Korea or Japan itself. The Japanese navy was gone, the air force was gone and the army was immobilized in the northern half of the theater of war.

IT WILL be remembered how our press reflected the apprehensions of our leadership regarding the cost and length of a continental campaign starting on the beachheads of Eastern China and moving northward across the great barriers of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers to engage the powerful Kwantung army in its lair. Such was the apprehension that our military leaders insisted that we need 7,000,000 men to finish off the Japanese army on the continent and in the home islands.

And just as the American public was getting set for the witnessing and support of this great effort against the Japanese army entrenched on the continent, two thunderbolts struck Japan from the blue—"*kamikazes* in reverse."

On Monday, Aug. 6, 1945, the power of the innermost energy of the universe was unleashed against Japan. The first atomic bomb, tested in New Mexico three weeks before, struck Hiroshima with devastating effect. The Japanese home front was given to understand that further resistance was futile and that, obviously, the "divine wind" which was supposed to come to the assistance of the Divine Empire had definitely turned coat. However, the atomic bomb in its present stage of development was rather helpless against the million square miles of dispersed Jap-



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The Fight Against Fascism

The processes of history surpass man's imagination: who could have foretold that World War II would end, where it actually began, on the plains of Manchuria? NM herewith presents its cartoon history of this decade and a half of war. The cartoons, more than anything we could write, express NM's stand on the major issues of our times. We begin here with the rape of Manchuria, and carry you through the world-shaking events of today. Follow the sequence through the various pages to William Gropper's page cartoon for this week.

1932.

"Manchukuo, Land of Peace," by Jacob Burck.

1936.

"The Monster Instinct," by Art Young.

anese power in the northern half of the theater of war. It was impossible to bomb out all the cells of enemy power entrenched between the Amur and the Yangtze. It would have been like trying to kill thousands of moles in a huge field by firing a sixteen-inch rifle at the mole-hills. All available uranium would not have done one percent of the job.

The "head" of the Japanese empire was affected by the atomic blast, but the big fat belly in Asia was not. The problem of the Japanese army remained.

And then on Wednesday, August 8, the Soviet Union set out to solve this problem by declaring war on Japan. Seven hours' notice was given the Japanese, but they did not choose to capitulate, as they did not choose to capitulate during the forty-eight hours which followed the first atomic blast and preceded the Soviet declaration of war. The usual disrupters of Allied unity and confidence rushed out with claims that "Russia declared war when she saw that we had an atomic bomb." First, it is clear even to a child that one does not declare a major war at the end of a 5,000-mile line of communications on forty-eight hours notice. Second, the slander was spiked by President Truman and General Wedemeyer (among others) who in fact showed that the entry of the USSR into the war was decided long before the atomic experiment. There are reasons to believe that the late President Roosevelt got Soviet commitments perhaps at Teheran, and surely at Yalta. The Potsdam ultimatum clearly reflected the assurance that the Soviet Union would enter the fray at the most propitious moment.

Now the "three-river box" is contracting around the Japanese Kwantung army. Marshal Malinovsky is thundering eastward from the Argun. General Purkayev is crashing down southward from the Amur. Marshal Meretskov is advancing through the wooded hills westward from the Ussuri. All this under the over-all command of young Marshal Vassilevsky. An inevitable "Cannae" encirclement, greater even than Stalingrad, is awaiting the Kwantung army, which can be saved from it only by immediate capitulation.

A campaign of three years has culminated in a shattering crisis of less than a week's duration. Instead of months and perhaps years (as some people predicted) of bloody fighting with the Japanese in Asia, our staunch and powerful partner is shattering the Japanese army in blitz-fashion, moving at the rate of up to 100 miles a day.

A brilliant example of coordination of arms and allied efforts, of the mysterious primeval energy of the universe and the staunch heroism of two great peoples who have crushed the last of the big aggressors of this earth!

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WHAT IS CHINA'S FUTURE?

By FREDERICK V. FIELD

I DON'T know any better than anyone else what went through the mind of the Chinese farmer in Honan when he learned the detested Japanese enemy had offered to surrender. What was the reaction of the Malay rubber plantation worker or the farmer in Java who for decades and as far back in the history of his family as he knows has been raising crops for a foreign ruler?

I wonder what was the second and third thought of the Chinese Eighth Route Army private with a red star on his cap when he learned that the long war of which he and his fellow soldiers were perhaps the greatest heroes might suddenly come to an end. My mind wanders to the Filipino guerrilla of the Huk . . . who after years of truly heroic struggle against the beasts in the Mikado's uniform was disarmed by the American liberators. Will the British Tommy, who for three years has waited at some camp in the Middle East, march back into Singapore to reclaim that outpost for the Empire with a joyous heart or with disturbing questions in his mind?

The point is, does the crushing of Japanese aggressive power in itself guarantee the future security of the Far East? Will reaction and fascism be thoroughly routed? Will the forces of democracy be sufficiently fortified during the war to look forward with confidence to the immediate future?

Sitting at a desk in the unscarred city of New York one raises these doubts at such a breathtaking moment in history as this with some diffidence. All of us share an indescribable elation. The Axis is smashed! *We* will have won a just war, and eliminated those forces who in their unquenchable lust for power adopted the terrorism of fascism.

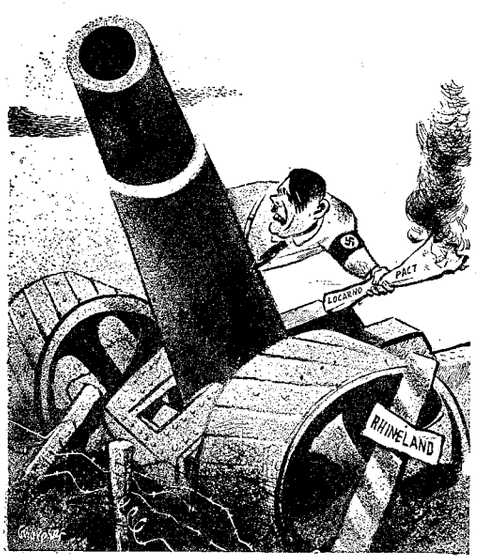
Surely we at our safe desks may claim this affinity with the fighter in North China, with the farmer of Luzon whose rifle harassed the invader until help came, with the exploited farmers and workers of the southwest Pacific. We join together the world over in celebrating our common victory.

But I am also concerned with second and third thoughts. Will the victory really be ours, or must we still struggle to consolidate it? Cast your mind over the Far East today. It looks like this. There are three sections of China. One has been occupied by the enemy for seven years. Its people and its land have been outraged. It accounts for over 100,000,000 people. Another 100,000,000 Chinese have been liberated by the Eighth and New Fourth Armies, by guerrilla forces and Partisans. They became parts of these forces themselves. They struck a fatal blow not only at the fascist invader but at their own feudal institutions. They planted seeds of economic and political democracy and they saw them take root and grow. All of this took place under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

BUT there remains in China a third section of some 200,000,000 people under the oppressive rule of a backward, feudal, reactionary and in many respects pro-fascist dictatorship at Chungking. Sabotaged in their own efforts to fight against the invader, ruined by the profiteering and exploitation of the ruling clique, these people find that the enemy is not yet obliterated from their horizon.

There are another 125,000,000 and more colonial people in the Far East. And, if you include India, you have to add to that number 400,000,000 more. An immense population, nearly one-

March 17, 1936



Gropper.
Hitler occupies the Rhine.

April 20, 1937

Gropper.
Mussolini, Champion of Non-Intervention.

July 13, 1937

Birnbaum.
"Mad Dogs and Englishmen Go Out in the Midday Sun."

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August 3, 1937

Soriano.

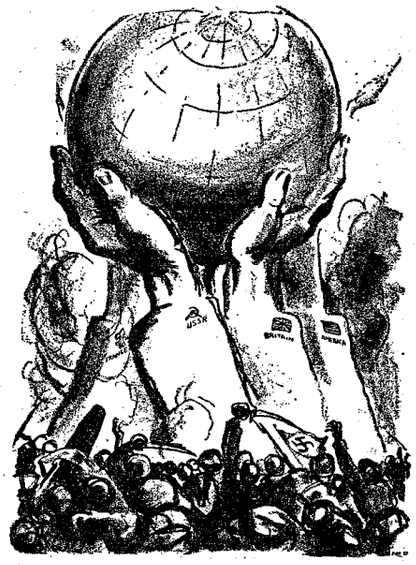
"Training for the Battle of the Century."

November 2, 1937

Gropper.

"The Eighth Route Army Round-up."

March 29, 1938



Ellis.

"The Soviet Government . . . is ready to participate in collective action."—*Litvinov*

third of the world. What can the victory mean to them? There can be no question but that the Japanese oppressor was far more hateful than the British, Dutch or French imperialist whom he replaced. The worst of the oppressors is being eliminated. But will oppression itself, inherent in the colonial system, be eliminated?

To the north lies the Soviet Union, whose magnificent armies knifed through 100 miles of Japan's vaunted Kwantung army in the first forty hours of their offensive. Here is the nation which, in sharp contrast to the semi-colonial, semi-feudal character of most of China and to the imperial bondage of the colonies, has built a socialist society. It is the Soviet Union which at the San Francisco Conference raised the slogan of freedom and independence for all people. It is the nation which never appeased the fascist-militarists of Japan and which lashed out at all those who did, the nation which gave the Chinese people the most substantial encouragement and material assistance in the long days of war before Pearl Harbor.

THE Far East, then, is an area of political and economic contrasts. The law of uneven development of society is nowhere more dramatically illustrated. Within it vast millions struggle for a goal which is only sighted by the defeat of Japan. The chances of postwar security in such an area, we must conclude, depend upon how smooth the remainder of the path toward that goal proves to be.

We who hail the triumph of the United Nations have a large variety of second and third thoughts on the present situation. We have different points of view and different perspectives, depending on where we are and what we do. But I believe that it is incontestable that the great majority of us regard the surrender of Japan as an event of historic importance, but one which instead of marking the end of our struggles for freedom and democracy, clears the decks for the continuation of that struggle under more favorable circumstances.

What must we do now? Primarily we must support those who seek to unify and democratize China. For China has to be the bulwark of security in the Far East. Historically the role of China is to give democratic leadership to the dependent peoples of the Far East. Without a progressive Chinese nation we have little prospect of maintaining security. Without such a China the imperialist power of the foreign capitalists will be so dominant in the area that the colonial people will have little chance to break their chains. The main burden falls upon the Chinese people themselves. That they are ready to carry this burden is evident from the heroic struggle they have put up during the war and from the epic progress they have made in certain sections of their country. They need now only the aid and encouragement of their Allies to complete their task.

For us in the capitalist nations our first task in the Far East is to remove those obstructions which our governments are now imposing upon the Chinese democratic forces and develop policies which will give them positive support. For us the task is also to speed up those commercial and political policies which will most rapidly break up the institution of colonialism.

These are not easy objectives. They require in our country a far greater and more militant mobilization of progressive forces. They require constant vigilance and struggle against the monopolists. They require much closer contact with the Russian, Chinese and colonial peoples and their problems than anything which American progressives have so far achieved.

We have won the war—now we have a new job to do. Unless we do it speedily and effectively our victory will not be complete.

April 5, 1938

"Italian-British Negotiations May Prepare Ground for World Peace."—*News Item.*

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SOVIET STAKES IN THE FAR EAST

By ALVIN DWIGHT

THE Soviet Union's stake in East Asia is a big one. Not alone because more than half of the Soviet Union is in Asia; not only because five of its sixteen republics are truly Oriental and many of its nationalities Asiatics; its main stake is in the fact that it has a land border nearly 5,000 miles long in east Asia, which compares with the 3,000 miles of the American-Canadian border.

Both its economic and political stakes in the Far Eastern war flow out of this fact. In past centuries there was more to the Russian stake. Before the Revolution Russia had political and economic concessions in China which in Russian policy-making even outweighed in importance the safety of the country (Cf. Russo-Japanese war). But these stakes abroad were liquidated by the Revolution and the commercial interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway, which the Soviets shared with China, was sold in 1935 when it had become a source of war danger to the USSR.

It might be supposed that the defense of its frontier would not give the USSR anything but a military or strategic problem. If this is all that is involved, how can it be said that the Soviet Union has any economic or political stake in the area? The answer to this lies in the nature of the Soviet's Asiatic defense problem. This gigantic frontier can be defended, basically, only in the way the American-Canadian border is defended —by having friendship and prosperity across it. The Soviets have long recognized the fact that the welfare of its neighbors directly affects its own welfare and security. This has been especially true in the Far East. The Soviet policy toward its Eastern neighbors has been to aid them in becoming politically independent and economically modern. In China, Soviet cooperation with Sun Yat-sen was dedicated to freeing the country from its imperialist shackles, providing it with a modern army and a progressive (or at least progressing) economy.

Another notable example is the Mongol People's Republic. The Soviets first cooperated with the Mongols after the last war when Japanese-financed White-guard puppets wreaked havoc in Siberia and Outer Mongolia. Together, the Red Army and the Mongol forces defeated Ungern von Sternberg and freed Mongolia from what would have been Japanese rule. The Soviet Union recognized, however, that as long as the Mongols remained primitive, poverty-stricken, disease-ridden people, Japanese intervention could repeat itself at will. A mere military alliance would not solve the problem of Soviet defense in that most vulnerable sector of its frontier where the Trans-Siberian Railway is squeezed between Lake Baikal and the border. A strong Mongolia was needed. To this end the Soviets gave economic aid. Outright gifts of technical equipment, non-interest bearing loans, and advisers in all fields of public welfare were provided. With the economic assistance, factories were established for processing local materials—wool, leather, etc. Some mining was initiated. Transportation was improved.

At first many of the enterprises were jointly owned—Soviet-Mongol—but today they are entirely Mongol. The country is becoming literate, its health is improving, and, though it has not a socialist economy, its standard of living has been raised appreciably. The consequence is that today the Mongol army is well-trained, healthy, well-equipped and the Soviet-Mongol mutual assistance pact means something to the defense of the Soviet Union as well as to the defense of the Mongol People's Republic. The Soviet Union has a real stake in seeing

April 12, 1938

"Neutrality" in Spain. Gropper.

September 20, 1938

Japanese Boycott. Reinhardt.

October 4, 1938

Pre-Munich Maneuvers. Gropper.

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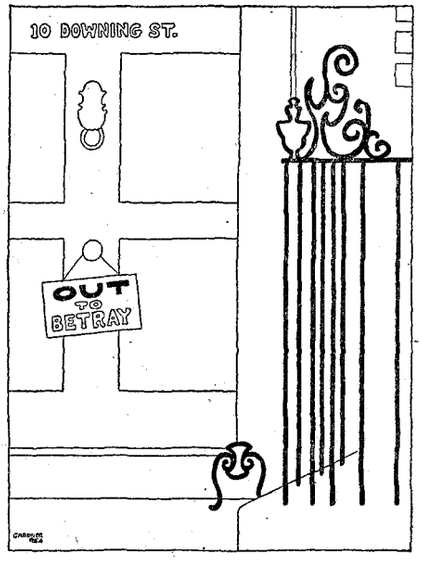
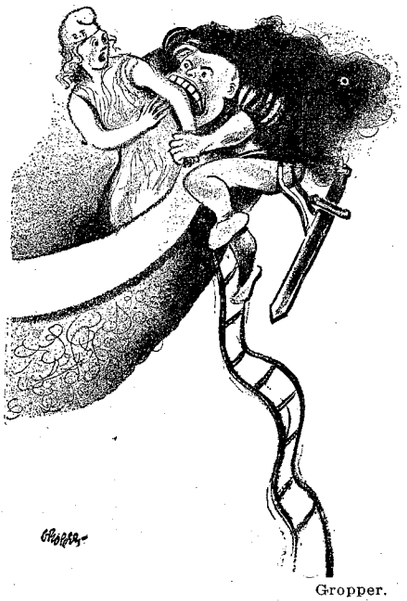
October 11, 1938



Rea.

The Munichеers

December 13, 1938



Gropper.

Mussolini Wanted Nice.

February 14, 1939

Gropper.

"Neutrality" Continues.

that its neighbor Mongols continue to strengthen their country in every way. Whether this is done as an autonomous part of China or as an independent country will be for the Chinese and Mongols to work out together.

The story in Sinkiang is similar. It is generally recognized that active Soviet aid to the provincial authorities in China's westernmost province of Sinkiang in the middle thirties coincided with Japanese efforts to utilize pan-Moslem propaganda to penetrate Western China, a large proportion of the population of which is not Chinese but Moslem, closely related to the Khirgiz, Kazakhs and Uigurs of Soviet Central Asia. Civil wars had been raging in the province for several years. At the request of the local governor, Soviet aid was extended in establishing order. Then Soviet advisers helped map out a social and political program that would promote local peace. Racial and national differences were recognized and respected in the school system, in local government, in economic opportunity. Soviet economic assistance—interest-free for the most part—established oil wells, paved roads, brought in a fleet of trucks. Sinkiang became stable and was becoming more prosperous. Unfortunately it was this program that was destroyed at the end of 1942 when the Soviets were asked to sever all connections with the province. The result has been disastrous—Moslem uprisings, economic depression and, of course, detriment to China's war effort, since it was through this province that some lend-lease had passed and that most of Soviet aid had gone to Chungking. The Soviet interest in Sinkiang is once more to get a stable neighboring province, preferably with the aid and cooperation of the central government.

These two cases illustrate what the Soviet Union has at stake in East Asia. It wants a free and prosperous Korea, a free and strong China. But if these aims cannot be achieved, the USSR has a negative stake—a stake to see that no other power encroaches upon these countries, as Japan has done, and uses them as bases potentially dangerous to the USSR. It is probably safe to assume that if China reverts to granting extensive foreign economic concessions, the USSR will want to participate in them. If, for example, railways are to be turned over to foreign control, the USSR will probably seek the Manchurian lines. But better still would be for China to own and operate all her own enterprises of national importance, for only thus can she control her own destiny and only thus can the Soviet Union have an independent neighbor with whom to deal directly.

Judging by the past record, this economic independence of China (and Manchuria is part of China) will be one of the major stakes the Soviets have in China. They will probably be prepared to assist materially in building China's postwar industries on generous terms. (The great new plants in Soviet Siberia and Central Asia are nearer to most of China than any other source of industrial equipment.)

This is not to say that the USSR has conducted or will conduct all its economic relations with its neighbors in the East on a "charitable"—or better, a "defense" basis. On the contrary, the USSR can look forward in peace to a mutually beneficial trade. There is no country which is so poor that it does not have a comparative advantage for the production of some items. And there is, therefore, no country with which the Soviet Union cannot trade to advantage. From Mongolia and Sinkiang it has been mainly livestock, hides, furs that have gone to the USSR in return for manufactured goods. China has its rare metals—tungsten especially—and besides, the Russians drink tea. With industrially rich Manchuria and North China freed from the Japanese, the list will be greatly extended.

It is true that the pre-war trade of the Soviet Union in the Far East was relatively small. But not only the postwar plans of China may change this: wartime changes in the Soviet Union will affect it. Soviet economic development in Asia is of course most heavily centered in Siberia—the Urals, along the Trans-Siberian railway and in the Kuznetsk Basin. But Soviet Central Asia has leapt ahead in the last five years. Kazakhstan's copper and coal, Uzbekistan's new steel mill and, of course, its cotton have brought modern industry to the very gates of Western China.

The Soviet Far East itself—that is, the area east of Lake Baikal—is primarily a heavily armored and well-supplied military outpost in its forced economic development. It still cannot carry itself for food, for heavy industrial equipment, or iron and steel on a peacetime basis. In the years to come it will undoubtedly look to China for additional food and for steel to Manchuria, to which it can in turn send lumber, fish, rare metals and consumers' goods.

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The USSR also has a huge stake in the future of Japan. Contrary to many commentators who try to say that the Soviets have no interest in Japan—but only in Manchuria or Korea—Japan is a key question for the Soviet Union. Not only has Japan a long record of ambitions in the Russian east; not only does Japan now hold Russian territory, southern Sakhalin (which under the Cairo Declaration would be returned to the USSR as having been seized by force after the Russo-Japanese War); but it is Japan which has broken the peace. It is Japan which over the past fourteen years has violated the Soviet border.

For the USSR Japan must be made incapable of future wars just as must Germany. Japan must work and earn its way back into the family of civilized and peace-loving nations. The Soviets see a future for the Japanese people just as for the German people, a future after defeat and reformation. After all, the Soviet Union has suffered more at the hands of Japan than any other nation except China. Next to China it has the biggest stake in Japan's economic and political future. In fact, Japan represents the biggest stake of all. *It is the test of collective security in the Pacific.* It is in the name of collective security that the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan. It is most important to note that the USSR did not declare war on Japan because Japan was at this time attacking the Soviet Union or even endangering the Soviet Union. The reason given was the international danger.

"True to its duty as an ally," the Soviet Union threw its armies into the war, knowing that again it would have to meet the largest of the enemy's forces and that again the price of victory might be large. But the stake that the Soviet Union has in the unity of the Big Three and in the success of the collective security idea is so great that it was ready to make this sacrifice. Fortunately, the Soviet entry into the Far Eastern war, following the serious weakening of Japan and the threat of annihilation contained in the atomic bomb, is bringing the war to a rapid end.

As the Soviet position at San Francisco made abundantly clear, the Russians feel that true and effective collective security in the postwar period can only be based on the cooperation of strong, independent and prosperous countries. This is why the Soviets have a stake in the independence and prosperity of all Asia. And we can be sure that, as in the past, the Soviets will give their active support to all measures leading to this end in Asia.

THE MEANING OF THE MIGHTY ATOM

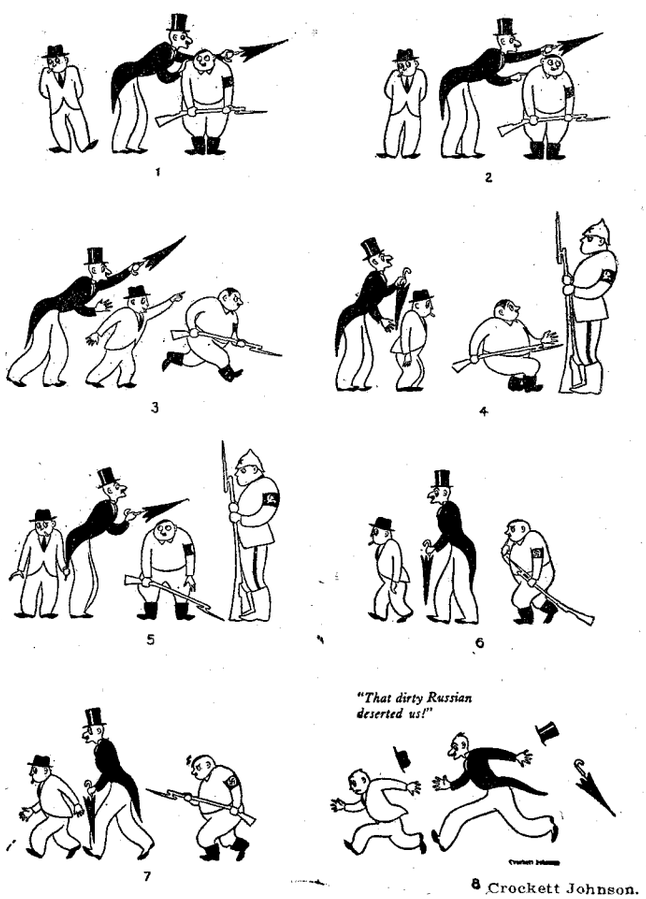
By KURT CONWAY

THE appearance of the atomic bomb, followed closely by the entrance of the Soviet Union into the war against the Japanese fascists, is a scientific, economic, military and historical event of the n-th magnitude whose importance cannot be exaggerated. All previous revolutionary occurrences have shared relatively slow if constantly accelerating tempos of change. The advent of atomic power seizes upon these tempos, accelerates them a thousandfold. Time itself is foreshortened. Ten years are but ten weeks away.

We are, however, given pause in an all but irresistible impulse to leap ahead to explore the future possibilities of the bomb by its very nature. For it is, after all, a *bomb*. The process and method that made it possible may be the scientific fact of the release of atomic energy, but for the present (if only for the present) we must speak of the bomb before anything else.

Its military significance is gigantic. News dispatches and eyewitness accounts state that almost sixty percent of Hiroshima, the Japanese town upon which the first atomic bomb was dropped, disappeared in a cloud of smoke. Total annihilation of everything within a radius of four or five miles of the center of Hiroshima was effected. Buildings, military installations, guns, planes, shells, munitions dumps, steel, wood, flesh, earth and solid stone were volatilized, blasted into atomic dust on a scale approaching the order of millions of tons and dissipated into thin air. No theory or conjecture this, but the hardest

September 5, 1939



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October 24, 1939

Richter.

"General Yoshiwara was in charge of the Emperor's Army in North China."

May 14, 1940

Richter.

"Scrap Iron Chancellor."

July 8, 1941

Gropper.

June 22, 1941.

of hard facts. For the Japanese it is no longer a question (as it was only a few days ago) of new tactics of defense, of burying factories in the ground, increasing plane production to resist B-29 attacks, of putting pikes into the hands of Japan's millions and telling them to die on the beaches. Multiply Hiroshima even a hundred times and there will be no defense, no factories over or under ground, no guns, planes, armies.

All weapons meet eventual countermeasures. Such may exist for the atomic bomb, but if so, only in the United States, Britain and Canada. *No defense whatever* for this catastrophic weapon can exist in Japan because of the lack of technological equipment. In addition, the entrance of the Red Army upon the scene forces an immediate decision upon the Japanese people. They must surrender or die.

This will not necessarily mean the end of Japanese fascism. The atomic bomb is a weapon in the hands of *men*. By itself it cannot single out and destroy the Japanese warmakers, the monopolists, the Samurai nobility and the Emperor—the social roots of fascism. These can surrender and still survive to continue their system of fascism and war. Militarily, therefore, the bomb boils down, as all wars and all weapons eventually must, to men and ideas. The Red Army was but the means by which the forces of democracy were brought from Stalingrad to Berlin. Atomic power is but the bridge over which the men and ideas of democracy and anti-fascism must march to Tokyo. If it is anything else, the atom bomb must be removed from the hands of those who might wrongly use it.

Today the atom bomb's potentialities for destruction are apparent to everyone. The whole science of war may be considered to have entered a state of flux. Airpower, with the carrying of atomic bombs to targets as its sole purpose, may become supreme. Application of the V1-V2 robot bomb principle to the atomic bomb is today a practical possibility. The ranges of both of these devices have been *enormously* increased over what they were during the last stages of the war in Europe. This means that the whole planet from pole to pole may be under command of countless fleets of winged flying atomic bombs directed by radio and radar, in addition to many thousands of four-motored heavy bombers intended to operate anywhere. Against these forces no existing guns, tanks or armies could prevail.

That is only the beginning of the story. The principle of the atomic bomb can conceivably be adapted to even newer and more terrible types of destruction, by no means in the realms of fantasy. Actual death rays, for instance, and rocket ships powered by a new application of atomic power. There is reason to believe that such weapons exist, if only in an undeveloped form.

Only a decade or so ago, atomic power was but an idea in the minds of writers of fantastic literature (among whom have been not only pure novelists like H. G. Wells, but also practical men of science such as Prof. J. B. S. Haldane). Behind the scenes, however, serious investigation was going on, in some places (notably the West) largely for war purposes, in others, directed at the ends of peace. Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, Russians, Jews of all nationalities contributed to the growing fund of knowledge on the subject. Among their number, and high on the list, are the Jewish woman scientist Lise Meitner, the American, Harold C. Urey, the Dane, Niels Bohr, the Englishman, Sir James Chadwick, the Frenchman, Frederic Joliot-Curie (incidentally, a Communist), the Italian Fermi, the Russian Kapitza, the Germans Hahn and Strassmann.

The public prints have already given ample coverage to the purely technical aspects of this gigantic development. What may be noted here is the peculiar nature of atomic energy which sets it apart from all previously used forms of energy. Modern civilization in all its phases is essentially based upon the chemical reaction of combustion as utilized in gasoline engines and turbines. The amount of power thus released is but an infinitesimal fraction of the whole inherent in the atomic structure of the fuel itself. Disruption of the atomic structure of any given material instantaneously releases an enormous quantity of the energy locked up in its atoms. The differential between chemical energy and atomic energy expressed in terms of ergs developed is about one to hundreds of millions. Multiply in your own mind the total power output of all the power plants, engines, turbines, dynamos and waterfalls in the world by that sum and you will get an idea of the potentialities of a comparable scale

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of atomic power, in point of output. That is only half of the story, however, for in essence, in thus releasing the energy pent up in the atom, in duplicating processes that go on automatically only in the hot core of the sun, man is now a hair's breadth from achieving the actual *creation* of the very building blocks of the universe. Matter, previously indisruptible, is made interchangeable with and merges into energy. The whole atomic structure of matter is now subject to physical alteration in any way we see fit. Change, dynamic and swift, together with ever-increasing prospects of human wealth and power, comes near to the realm of the commonplace.

Scientists working with cyclotron tubes, which are nothing but gigantic generators and projectors of moving streams of electrons, have been able to make perfectly stable materials such as metals and certain chemicals more or less radioactive by means of the nuclear bombardment. These radioactive materials temporarily become unstable and begin to emit rays of various types, ranging from alpha particles to X-rays. None of these rays under ordinary conditions are very dangerous or inimical to life. Usually they are difficult to produce and with modern technique are under strict control. But in the case of an atomic bomb explosion, the moving streams of electrons, which in a cyclotron tube could be compared to a very weak trickle of water, suddenly become magnified to a million Niagaras, rushing with irresistible force, outward, in all directions. Under this powerful bombardment the surrounding matter for miles becomes instantly unstable and radioactive, breaks down and starts emitting a whole series of radiations at an enormous rate. The length of time that elapses before this radiation ceases is still a matter of speculation. In any event, on the best authority it does not even begin to approach the span of seventy years mentioned in sensational articles published in the past few days. But it certainly lasts for many hours—and the destructive effects on all forms of life within a great radius are tremendous.

We are already aware through long experiment of the influence of soft X-rays upon forms of life such as fruit flies and man himself. Mutation (change or alteration in the primary characteristics of species) is engendered in the case of flies, while prolonged doses of soft X-rays either sterilize human sperm cells or produce terrible and irremediable burns or both.

The explosion and aftermath of an atomic bomb release such rays in floods. The center of the explosion completely annihilates all life within a radius of several miles. This happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Beyond this other radii of varying influence and destruction occur. For instance, both during and after the explosion many thousands undoubtedly received superficial, visible ray burns which within a short period will become cancerous and cause a painful, lingering death. Beyond this band of influence lie radii where the burns are not immediately visible, but will appear, also resulting in death. Beyond this, ray burns, not necessarily fatal, but horribly crippling occur (have occurred, beyond the shadow of a doubt). The next outlying radius will produce dermatic disfigurements, painless perhaps, but permanent. Finally, the bands of physical destruction will cease, as will universal sterility which will have continued through them all. At this point the spouting rays begin to have delayed effects upon the human body. Although not made sterile, the sperm cells undergo changes which will manifest themselves in crippled and deformed offspring. And last of all come the ordinarily shocked, bruised and bleeding victims of mere concussion whose physical and mental processes may remain warped throughout the rest of their lives.

The atomic explosion is, however, not self-propagating, save perhaps in the presence of either raw or specially treated material of which the atomic bomb is itself composed. From all the evidence at hand, this is probably U-235, an isotope of uranium. Neither the element nor its 235th isotope is plentiful. Should other, more plentiful materials, such as copper, steel or aluminum, gold or silver be made subjects for the release of atomic energy, the situation would be completely reversed. In the case of copper, for instance, a small atomic bomb releasing the energy of copper might explode every gram of the metal within a wide radius of the explosion. This would be the dreaded super-catastrophe long featured in fantastic fiction, resulting in any number of physical upheavals, including the creation of earthquakes and the possible stripping bare of the earth's crust for many hundreds

December 9, 1941

Gropper.

Pearl Harbor.

August 4, 1942

Gropper.

Call for a Second Front.

May 15, 1945

Holson.

V-E Day.

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of miles, both vertically and horizontally.

All this is overwhelming, too enormous a conception for the mind to grasp. Fortunately, however, the potentialities of atomic energy are constructive as well as destructive. The release of atomic energy makes possible the transmutation of all the elements, from one to the other, from hydrogen to uranium, or the creation of all of these materials from pure energy derived from the atomic breakdown of simple substances such as rock or water. We need not dwell upon the obvious benefits of infinite and eternal power. Within the span of several short decades the whole face of the earth could be transformed.

All of this lies in the future, which may not be as distant as some would have us believe. The fact is that scarcity becomes impossible under conditions of the use of atomic power, for the very nature of that power makes abundance

(*Continued on page* 30)

Who Will Own the Atom?

The news leaped across oceans and continents, wherever man had access to knowledge: the era of atomic energy had begun. Hundreds of millions asked themselves the same question: would it be for mankind's good or ill? The revelation came with news of the virtual obliteration of a great city by a bomb whose activating agent was about an ounce of uranium. Its power potential staggered men's minds; its power for destruction was accented in roaring terms. The reaction to the Wright aeroplane might have been similar had it arrived in history as a dive bomber.

But other details of atomic power's arrival have an encouraging significance. It made its first appearance as the product of precisely the sort of national planning and national mobilization of resources that had been abominated as "socialism." Its development was international, being the joint enterprise of three nations, the United States, Canada and Great Britain, and the result of a century of research by scientists of many nations. On the honor roll of atomic discovery are the names of Frenchmen, Americans, Englishmen, Jews, Russians, Italians, Germans, Danes. And it is a happy augury that the discovery of atomic power comes just as mankind has brought into being that great and equally epoch-making social invention, the first working international organization, the United Nations. Obviously the next imperative of the organization must be to bring the control of atomic power under its Security Council.

Even more international than the origins of atomic power are its future potentialities. These may not soon be realized, but that they will be permits no doubt. First there is the many thousand-fold, perhaps million-fold multiplication of productive power, with all that that means for the lightening of man's burdens. One set of burdens to fall from his back should be the threat and costs of war, since international rivalries will become unthinkable as such "causes" as coal seams and oil strata and other sources of power become meaningless, and as the wealth for which strong nations keep the weaker in colonial subjection become laughable pittances alongside the riches atomic power makes accessible to all.

But such a future would be crippled if atomic power were turned over to private exploitation. President Truman indicated that government control is to be maintained for some time and Secretary of War Stimson explained that "in each country (the United States, Great Britain and Canada) all personnel engaged in the work, both scientific and industrial, are required to assign their entire rights to any invention in this field to their respective government." He added that the three governments involved had "substantial control" over the process. It is the word "*substantial*" that is disquieting. The Kilgore committee appears to feel the same disquiet and is undertaking an investigation to determine if any monopolies now have an interest in the future of atomic power.

There is impassioned general agreement that this new and greatest and most perilous economic resource be kept out of private control. Here scientific opinion joins that of the man in the street in insisting that the controls be as responsible as possible, which means not only national but international control under the Security Council of the United Nations.

Nationalization and internationalization are necessary not only because of the dangers but the hopes this new power holds out to humanity. Mankind must be safeguarded not only against the destructive potentialities of atomic power; it must be safeguarded against abuse of its constructive forces. Mankind must not be robbed of its potential blessings, economic security and leisure. Mankind must not be robbed of these by any manipulated and sabotaged development of atomic power such as is only too likely under private financial interests. Such interests, in the past, have acquired thousands of useful patents for the sole purpose of killing them. Such interests are in control of the present sources of power that will be rendered obsolete by atomic developments. It would therefore be putting atomic power into the hands of its inevitable enemies to let it fall under their control. The immediately rueful editorial speculations in coal, oil, electrical and financial trade journals are a hint of the forces that will line up to obstruct and deform the development of atomic power.

The other danger faced in entrusting atomic power to private hands is that the resulting economic change-over may bring misery. Under private exploitation there is certain to result the cruel paradox that the transformation that would enrich people will begin by impoverishing them through unemployment. Indeed that is likely to be a maneuver of private development to induce support for programs of obstruction and delay. For that reason as well, therefore, planned government development of atomic power for peace under international controls, is as essential as was its planned development for war. From whatever point the problem is approached the only answer is: atomic power must be nationalized under international control.

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A JEW ASKS SOME QUESTIONS

By ARTHUR ROSENBERG, with a reply by HEDLEY STONE

It's not easy to fight. It's hard to learn to hate, to be callous and indifferent to blood and suffering. But once you're in a war, you *must!* You fight, you hate, you watch blood flow with taut, pressed lips, but all the while, somewhere inside of you, a voice whispers reassuringly, "That's all right, boy. You're fighting for a 'cause,' and it's *right* to hate and kill. Go to it! Get this over with and then we'll have those Four Freedoms they've been talking about."

Yes, it is bitter to fight and kill. But it's far worse to learn that some have forgotten *why* you battle, and that the Four Freedoms have become to some people only words that sound sweet to the ear but that are entirely impractical and worthless. Then you begin to wonder just why you're so busy hating, why the downing of an enemy plane or the sinking of an enemy submarine should be the cause for so much rejoicing. You begin to doubt that inner voice that once was so comforting, and then this war seems but a mockery.

Four years ago, anti-Semitism was something of which I had heard and read much, but experienced little. The atrocities invoked by the Nazis in Europe shocked me, filled me with a deep horror, but my sympathies were directed toward the sufferers because they were *people*—any people—not because they were Jews. I was proud to hear my fellow Americans deplore the acts condoned by Hitler, and I was surer than ever that nothing of that sort could ever take place in America.

Then, some years ago, I joined the Merchant Marine as a radio operator. We were sending goods at that time to Egypt and Sudan for the prosecution of the war by the British desert armies, and the first urgent need for ships and the men to sail them was being recognized here at home. I joined my first ship enthusiastically, with pride, because she was bound for the Red Sea with war cargo. Here we were, Catholic, Protestant and Jew, all sailing for a common cause. Here, I thought, is Democracy and the Right Way of Life in action, with no attention being paid to creed or color, but all men working together and for each other.

Ho! I have to laugh at myself now, at the little altruistic fool that I was back in 1941. I was so sure of my ideals, of the goodness of mankind, of the sincerity of the spoken word. I never dreamed that any other conditions could exist in a nation like the United States, a country so surely heading toward a war to uphold those beliefs of which we heard so much.

I learned quite a bit on that first ship, and my education increased as I made subsequent trips on other vessels. I was a bit hard to convince at first, for it's not easy to destroy a person's ideals and, in a short time, replace them with other conclusions, no matter how clear and unavoidable. But only a fool will ignore what he sees and hears over a period of time, and I saw and heard much.

Discussions spring up easily on board a merchant ship, and I was present at many of them. The favorite topic was Nazi Germany and her treatment of the different religions but the Jewish faith in particular. I listened eagerly as the chief mate, a man who represented the sea and seamen to me, took his pipe from his mouth and began to speak. I nodded my head in acquiescence as he declared that "Germany is all wrong," and when he said, "The trouble with the Nazis is that they're going about this in the wrong way," I merely laughed and suggested that he meant that the Nazis were wrong, and no more. That's when I first began to realize that the world was not all sunshine and that it was not necessarily inevitable that by defeating the Axis powers we were heading for an existence of peace and "live and let live." For the mate looked at me as though I were inconceivably blind and stupid (as I certainly was!) and snapped back: "I said that they were going about this in the wrong way and that's what I meant! You can't get rid of the lousy Jews by killing them off, a few thousand here and there; you've got to have a worldwide plan and everyone has to act together."

I suppose I should add that no one present was aware that I was a Jew, but I doubt if it would have made the least bit of difference. Just as soon as the mate's words were out of his mouth, the entire group began to exchange heated words about the Jews, and told countless stories of how they'd been "fleeced" and "exploited" by the "chosen race." I noticed gratefully that there were a few who said nothing but looked at the others in disgust and spat over the side, but they were truly only a few.

I listened to the tales for about five minutes, meanwhile trying to collect my scattered thoughts and find some foundation for all my beliefs again. Five minutes was all I could stand, and then I stood up and called the mate to one side. I explained to him that I was Jewish and that I'd rather he wouldn't talk before me as he had that night. He was surprised to learn my religion, but he voiced no regret for having spoken as he did. He merely seemed interested and pleased to learn that there was a Jew on board.

From then on I began to learn to be patient, to hold my temper, and to listen to the most stupid and dangerous statements I'd ever heard. The mate and the steward, and one or two other less violent anti-Semitic officers, would spend every meal hour—for six months—recalling injustices they'd suffered at the hands of Jews! Most of the experiences seemed to have been told them by friends, however. The old, familiar refrains—that is, they're familiar now—were repeated over and over again:

The Jews started this war for business reasons.

The Jews never do manual work, they always go into a business and then take over.

The Jews are a bunch of unscrupulous devils to deal with, and they think more of a penny than. . . .

And this went on endlessly. At first, I thought I would trace their antipathy, and cure it in that manner, but I gave that up when I heard the mate admit when and where his abhorrence of the Jews had first begun.

It seems that he lived out on the West Coast when he was young, and reading in the paper of an offer made by a local dealer for a desirable type of wild nut, had spent a week with a friend in picking them. Finally, he had a sizable batch and the two of them carried their pickings to the dealer, who happened to be a Jew, for payment at ten cents a pound. The Jewish marketer is supposed to have looked at the nuts, about twenty-five pounds, and said: "Well, I really don't need that kind of nut any

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more, but since you brought them all the way, I'll give you five cents a pound for them! Take it, or you can take them back!"

I can still see that mate's eyes as he told this; he got all excited and sputtered when he came to the "five cents a pound," and from this grew his violent anti-Semitism! From this came the belief that the Jews had done everything evil from igniting the fires of war to trying to control the salmon industry in the North Pole!

Other ships differed very little from this one. The next trip I made was late in December 1941, when we were already at war. The vessel was bound for Murmansk, during the hardest part of the fighting in that sector of ocean warfare, with endless bombings, submarine attacks, surface craft shellings and mines. One would think that on *this* trip, at least, there would be true fraternity, since we all faced a definitely great risk together.

But here I found that it was the captain who spouted long and loud at the Jewish bankers and "war mongers." He would spend hours tuning up his little short-wave receiver to hear the German news, and then would come down to the table to inform us as to the "true" state of affairs in the world. He used typical Nazi words: "Jewdocrat, Rosenfelt (for Roosevelt)," and so forth. But to the credit of most of the other officers, they were silent during and after the skipper's recitals. I don't know if the captain was a "Nazi"; however, he was hardly a glowing symbol of the world-to-be that we fight for.

IT MIGHT be easy to pass all these people off as "ignorant," which they are, in a sense of the word. But the same situation exists among the so-called intelligent ship's officers. In 1943 I sailed under a master who, at one time, had been a theological student, and was certainly well-read and a "gentleman." He and I had been torpedoed together, when he was a chief officer, and we had spent days together on a life-raft in the North Atlantic, and later were in the same hut in a medical encampment in an allied country. We discussed many things, and among them, the fate of the Jews in America. The only difference I found between this man and the others, the less educated seamen, was that he stated his beliefs in prettier words. He actually was certain that the Jew presented a definite menace to the "civilized" world.

He also taught me something that I've found more and more prevalent as time goes by. He would preface all his remarks with "Of course, Sparks, this doesn't apply to *you;* if all the Jews were like you, things would be different!"

But other Jews *are* like me! I'm no better than my religious brethren; I'm no more tolerant or Christian-like in my beliefs than they are. And yet, people blandly stop during a tirade on the "war-mongers" and say, in a tone that is supposed to make me feel wonderful, "This doesn't mean you, Art. You're all right!"

I've sailed now on nine ships since the start of the war. I've been around the world, seen other countries, been through a torpedoing, bombings, shellings, and all the horrors that this war has brought on the Merchant Marine. I've manned guns, shot at planes, and stayed at my post in the radio room sending out our position so that all of us might have a fighting chance of coming through alive while all others abandoned ship. Yet, in all this time, through all this fighting, I've not found a dozen men who have a clear knowledge of what we hope this war will bring.

To their credit, I've been able to discuss this question with shipmates of other faiths and found that they were just as sickened by the stupidity of this situation as I. Yet you could count them on the fingers of both hands.

When I joined the Merchant Marine, I did it with the idea of being of service to my country. I can't truthfully deny that the money to be earned didn't interest me; it would interest anyone. But the truth is that money was secondary. Yet, whenever one of the men on board a ship gets mad at anything, from the lack of news I receive over the radio to the way I part my hair, he'll be sure to make some reference to my faith: "Just like all the Jews! Always looking for money and a soft job!"

If I do some extra work, I'm entitled to overtime, and apply for it. Yet, let any of the others on board hear of it and they moan: "Look at that damn Jew! He's got the softest job on the ship, and yet, just like the rest of his bunch, he's looking for more money!" Yet the money they receive for overtime they regard as only legitimately theirs, for they're taking it away from the "Jewish war-mongers!"

It's not only anti-Semitism. The Negro, the naturalized citizen, the refugee who longs to fight for his chosen country, all come in for their own share of abuse from the so-called patriots.

I don't know what the solution is. I can't suggest a way in which this situation can be immediately remedied. But I do know that it hurts, that it makes the job of fighting and enduring the privations of war much harder and much more painful. It tends to destroy the feeling of pride that means so much to any man with a gun.

I realize that this article can't do much toward changing things, but I'm writing this from out of the depths of bewilderment and in all sincerity. I hope fervently that my countryman will come to his senses before he takes on the task of determining the peace.

The Four Freedoms are a wonderful basis for a life of goodness and comfort for all. Yet they're imperiled by the ignorance of a few. I don't want to spend my life combatting rumors, slander and hate. I want to live as others, to be happy; that's what I'm supposed to be fighting for now, isn't it? If I'm killed, I'll be termed a sacrifice for the "Right Way of Living," won't I?

I wonder. ARTHUR ROSENBERG.

[*NM showed the above article to Hedley Stone, treasurer of the National Maritime Union, and invited his comment. Below is his statement.*]

ARTHUR ROSENBERG's letter describing his awakening to the facts of anti-Semitism as he found them in the Merchant Marine is accurate in its details. I have experienced them myself.

It is some thirty years since I first went to sea, not as an officer but as an ordinary seaman. My first ship was a tanker bound for Norway, Sweden and Denmark during World War I. Our country was not yet at war. Conditions on the ship were intolerable. You ate and slept in the foc'sle. You worked four hours on and four off, and as an ordinary seaman you took orders from everybody; and, this being my first trip, I was given extra chores by anybody who wanted to take advantage of me. So I found myself washing clothes for others and variously getting plenty of abuse. After about ten days at sea, we hit some rough weather, and someone thought up the idea that the bad weather was caused by the fact that there was a Jew aboard and I was it. I did not have the advantage of a discussion to explain that I had nothing to do with the weather or the rolling of the ship; life was miserable. At the end of three and a half months I returned to the States. I was sure glad to get back.

I came from a small Jewish com-

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munity in Newark, New Jersey. I had never known any discrimination in my community. I went to school where practically everybody was Jewish. I lived in a street where everybody was Jewish and I thought the world was one great happy playground. I came back to Newark and there I stayed for several months. As I grew older I ventured forth again from time to time, and I found more of these abuses in the places where I went. I began to think, "Where do people get such conceptions of the Jew?" But I just could not fathom the whole thing. On numerous occasions when I was looking for jobs ashore I would find places in the applications where "nationality" and "religion" were asked for. When I put down that I was Jewish, in many instances I did not get the job. I did not grasp the significance at the time. In the course of years at sea and shoreside jobs I discovered that there were others who had the same sort of trouble. I became friendly with these people—Negroes, foreigners and people who protested the intolerable conditions of their life.

At that time there were organizations in the marine industry for both licensed officers and unlicensed personnel. These organizations, however, made little attempt to look into the affairs of the men who belonged to them. There were seldom any meetings where men could get up and talk about discrimination, whether it was against Jews, Negroes or foreign born. The organizations either did not permit Negroes to become members or had Jim Crow locals. Nevertheless, during all this period, something was beginning to happen that was to show me how I could do something about the things that troubled me.

In 1934 there was a maritime strike on the West Coast, which led to a general strike. As a result improvements were made in the general condition of the workers in the industry. And I learned, with the men who fought for these gains, that our salvation was to be found in our own participation in the organizations to solve the problems that confronted us. However, that was only a beginning, and in 1936 another strike on the East Coast as well as the West led to the formation of a new union, the National Maritime Union, organized this time in accordance with the wishes of the rank and file in the industry. We drew up a constitution which expressly required that no member should discriminate against anyone for religious or political beliefs, and that all should unite in one organization regardless of creed, color, sex, nationality or political belief. Our organization immediately started to carry out these objectives. From the day that our organization was formed to this very day we have been fighting discrimination. It is a long, slow fight, but our way works. We encourage the members of our union to discuss the problems that bother them and to look for specific solutions. At the conclusions of discussions the members participate in enforcing the conclusions they have arrived at. The result is that in the eight years of our existence our membership, which covers a large portion of the marine industry, is well versed on the truth about anti-Semitism, Jim Crowism, oppression of the foreign born, not only as it relates to men following the sea, but as it relates to our neighbors wherever we happen to live or visit. This does not mean that as the industry fluctuates we do not get within our ranks men indoctrinated with philosophies picked up from the reactionary press and elsewhere prior to coming into our organization.

At our meetings, held regularly, twice monthly, whether ashore or on ship, we discuss the war and what it is being fought for, the ultimate objectives we are seeking in helping to win this war. You can measure the success of these discussions by the evident zeal aroused in the men for doing all they can for a speedy, successful conclusion of the war. Between seven and a half and ten percent of our membership are Jewish, between ten and fifteen percent Negro, about fifteen percent are foreign born and the rest come from every town and hamlet in the United States. We also have Chinese, Hindus, Egyptians. These men ship out of one hall, on one ship and fight for one purpose, to destroy Nazism and fascism and help establish those four freedoms which Mr. Rosenberg recognizes rightfully as a wonderful basis for a life of goodness and comfort for all. Do these men have complaints about finding discrimination on the ships as well as on the beach? They do. And they bring them up at their meetings ashore and at sea in the fashion I have described. They do not stop there. They join with other organizations ashore and carry on the struggle there as well, discussing these problems and devising ways and means of solving them and, what is most important, participating in their enforcement.

So much for unlicensed personnel. The primary organization of licensed personnel, is, unfortunately concerned chiefly with clearing jobs for licensed officers. It rarely holds meetings or discussions of such problems as the war and what we are fighting for.

But there is also in Mr. Rosenberg's branch of the service the American Communications Association, with an Off-shore Operators Division, of which I can speak very highly and which participates in the world struggle in a thoroughly democratic fashion. Through its paper and through its meetings it works to establish an understanding of the things for which this war is being fought much as we are doing.

Mr. Rosenberg writes that he doesn't know what the solution to his problem is. Well, let me say first that he is awake, that he is participating in a war where the major objective is to wipe fascism from the face of the earth. He has been awakened by personal contact with people who speak like Nazis, but are nonetheless participants in destroying Nazism. It is only in fighting this war to a real conclusion and working with organizations like those I have outlined above that he will find his answer. If he sails on an NMU ship he should attend the meetings that our members hold on the ships and discuss with them the immediate problems that arise on the ship—anti-Semitism or any other problems. He will soon find himself speaking not only to his shipmates, but from the ship to our President, to our Congress, to our people, urging certain things that the crew he is sailing with recommends, speaking to our national leaders on things that they are doing that he agrees with and the things he disagrees with. It all adds up—that besides the good work as radio operator sailing ships during this war period, he will also participate in the home life on the ship and in the community. In the Merchant Marine there is no orientation program to clarify the issues to the seamen and the chief activity around the war and the relationship of our life in winning this war comes through the NMU. If he joins in this work when he comes ashore he will be ready to take part in the organized work here at home fighting anti-Semitism, and Jim Crowism in our own country. Such persistent, organized work is the only way to see to it that the four freedoms become a reality and that at some future date discrimination will be wiped from the face of this earth as it has been wiped out in the USSR.

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YOU CAN'T SATISFY SEN. WILEY

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

TWO short weeks before the Soviet Union declared war on Japan, that discredited Soviet-baiter, Sen. Alexander Wiley (R., Wis.) beat the drum for Soviet entrance into the war with Japan, which was the favored vehicle for whipping up war sentiment against the USSR then. He scoffed at the "widespread spineless reluctance" to castigate the Soviet Union, which he proceeded to do at length.

He didn't stop at that, however. He became tremulous. I am always surprised, looking at Senator Wiley, at that cold impassive face, to hear such outpourings of emotion, suggesting that beneath that massive aldermanic front of his, so carefully groomed, there beats a heart.

But listen to this: "In millions of American homes, mothers, fathers and sweethearts are awaiting anxiously for news of Russia's intentions. Hundreds of thousands of our brave soldiers, sailors and marines are poised for the tough and bitter invasion of Japan. They know and we know that if Russia declared war, if her bombing fleets roared out from Vladivostok over to Japan, these acts might be the final ones to force a quick surrender of the Japs. Thus, countless American lives are at stake in Russia's decision."

Gloomily, he declared "we cannot foresee the future," but promised "we will not easily forget Russia's contribution in the Far East if she pitches in with us and will not easily forgive her shrinking of her responsibility if she remains on the side lines."

But that was July 25. When August 8 came, the heart that beat for the American boys—so long as the Senator thought he could inflame their families against the USSR—the heart that beat for Poland so long as only the London Poles could be called "Poland," gave no evidence of quickening. He described Russia's entrance in the war as "a 'Joey-come-lately' entrance, coming as it does a full three months after the victory in Europe." He began to carp suspiciously about "territorial adjustments in Asia which would be inequitable and unjust," and said we had reached a "point of near-victory" anyway.

Senator Wiley has a record on foreign policy surpassed by no one in the Senate for rank isolationism. In vote after vote on crucial issues, if he voted at all, he voted against the overwhelming sentiment of the American people. The Milwaukee *Journal*, conservative Republican paper which supported the administration's foreign policy throughout recent years, made a determined effort editorially to help bring about his defeat in 1944 just because of his isolationism. Now, arrogantly, he says Russia's entrance into the war may "slightly help to tip the scales in the weird Japanese minds and make them surrender." The "slight tipping" on the part of the Soviet Far Eastern Army did in fact force the Japanese to surrender, saving thousands of American lives, but you wouldn't know it from anything Senator Wiley says.

I TRIED to talk to Senator Wiley, as I have so often done. He never refuses point-blank to see me because I represent NEW MASSES— Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio is the only member of Congress who has done that—but he always is busy. At times I have conducted a three-day campaign to see him, but in the most dulcet tones imaginable the various members of his efficient staff have put me off. This time I talked to his "assistant," who insisted that the Senator's change in point of view between July 25 and August 8 was purely a result of the atomic bomb. Actually there was no change in his point of view, of course. He is just consistently anti-Soviet. It would take more than an atomic bombing to shake the Senator free from that point of view.

Senator Wiley took the floor frequently in the closing days of the Senate before the recess. On one occasion he made it plain that he expected enabling legislation providing for a police force for the international Security Council to be offered as a treaty—i.e., requiring a two-thirds vote of the Senate. Clearly the Senator from Wisconsin will be among the group which desperately tries to hamstring the working of the Charter. On this occasion he wound up reciting a poem which I dare not quote at length for fear of arousing Isidor Schneider's jealousy.

It began this way:

They have called many men isolationists,
Those who would not have war,
They who prior to December 7, 1941,
Sought to keep this country out of war.

On the last day of the Senate it was Senator Wiley who introduced a bill to set up a Dies committee in the Senate. He would call it, however, the Special Committee on Promotion of American Activities. His remarks on it stressed the need of hurrying to do a job on CIO's PAC before the 1946 elections.

CALMEST man in the Capital at the news of Russia's declaration of war on Japan was Sen. Elbert Thomas (D., Utah), the Senate's most scholarly and creative figure, who is a historian and linguist and who for months has been broadcasting in Japanese for OWI, his talks beamed to the people of Japan. Senator Thomas' reaction was simply that the declaration of war confirms what he has said all along, that he never had any doubt that Russia would go to war against Japan. Rep. Adolph J. Sabath (D., Ill.) expressed jubilation without any inhibitions. He crowed that it "bears out what I have always said," and that it meant "the early and complete liquidation of Japan." He wasn't far from right. Sen. Brien McMahon (D., Conn.) also said he was not surprised, and that it made inevitable "the quick polishing-off of Japan, with the consequent lessening of the loss of American lives."

ONE of the questions being asked in Washington now is, "How long now before Ambassador Pat Hurley will be called back and a new policy put in so we can hope for unity between Yenan and Chungking?"

SENATOR TAFT was, of all the extremely vocal Senators left in Washington at the time the Potsdam results were announced, the most vocal, and the most resentful because nothing was said about Russia's going to war on Japan. Naturally I wanted to give him an opportunity of letting NEW MASSES readers know how happy he was when the Soviet Union made its declaration of war. The Senator had departed, was on his way to his summer home in Quebec. "I don't think he'd want to comment anyhow," a young woman in his office said in a burst of confidence.

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COLLEGE DOUBLECROSS

By JAMES SCHLECKER

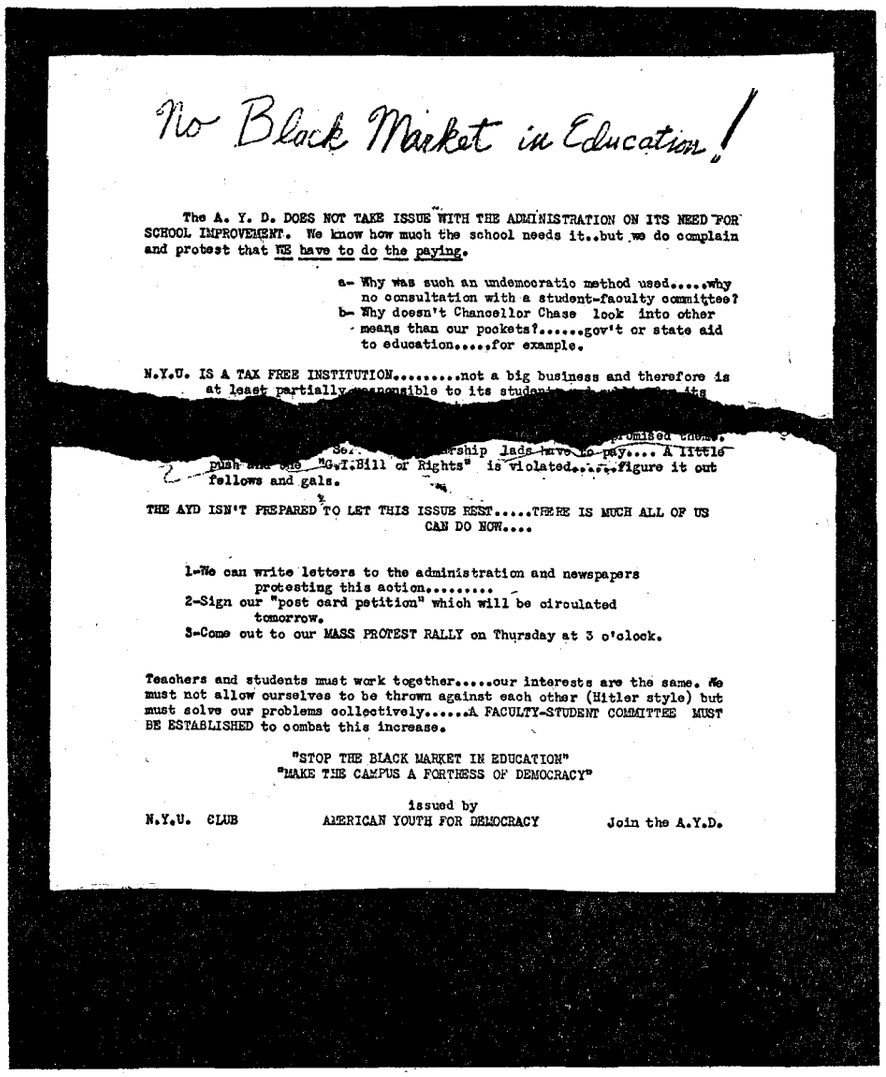
A FEW short months ago while I was still a GI in Italy an article appeared in *Yank* discussing the educational provisions of the "GI Bill of Rights." As I recall, a three-page spread on New York University highlighted the devoted consideration paid to ex-servicemen by our institutions of higher education. A year in the Canadian and almost three years in the American Army entitles me to five years of college training, if I want it, so I had a real interest in the article.

I don't remember the article's details but I do remember the impression left on my mind. There, I said, was a school that understood the problems of its students because it took the initiative to set up this special veterans' section. NYU has, I believe, the largest veteran enrollment of any school—some 2,000, we have been told. They painted such a beautiful picture of the postwar world that I became convinced return to school was my best course. The idea played in my mind, I liked it and when I got back I applied for admission at NYU for the fall.

But the bombshell came even before my application went through: a few weeks ago the cost of tuition at NYU was increased from $12.00 to $13.50 per point (or an added expense of almost $200 for four years), and now I'm obliged to start paying.

The American Youth for Democracy, a progressive youth organization, first posed this issue on the campus. They interested me in the fight against "black marketing" higher education, and I volunteered to work with them. AYD contended that this fee raising was no isolated fact but a general anti-democratic move by universities throughout the country to limit college attendance.

But let me start from the beginning....



No Black Market in Education!

The A. Y. D. DOES NOT TAKE ISSUE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION ON ITS NEED FOR SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT. We know how much the school needs it..but we do complain and protest that WE have to do the paying.

a- Why was such an undemocratic method used.....why no consultation with a student-faculty committee?
b- Why doesn't Chancellor Chase look into other means than our pockets?.....gov't or state aid to education.....for example.

N.Y.U. IS A TAX FREE INSTITUTION.....not a big business and therefore is at least partially responsible to its students

...ship lads have to pay.... A little ... "G.I.Bill of Rights" is violated.....figure it out fellows and gals.

THE AYD ISN'T PREPARED TO LET THIS ISSUE REST.....THERE IS MUCH ALL OF US CAN DO NOW....

1-We can write letters to the administration and newspapers protesting this action.....
2-Sign our "post card petition" which will be circulated tomorrow.
3-Come out to our MASS PROTEST RALLY on Thursday at 3 o'clock.

Teachers and students must work together.....our interests are the same. We must not allow ourselves to be thrown against each other (Hitler style) but must solve our problems collectively.....A FACULTY-STUDENT COMMITTEE MUST BE ESTABLISHED to combat this increase.

"STOP THE BLACK MARKET IN EDUCATION"
"MAKE THE CAMPUS A FORTRESS OF DEMOCRACY"

issued by
N.Y.U. CLUB AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY Join the A.Y.D.

The AYD fights for education.

As I was in Italy at the time I didn't read Chancellor Chase's report for 1943-1944, in which this whole present policy was laid down by the administration. When it was published the student newspaper *Bulletin* revealed the threat this policy implied.

Let Chancellor Chase speak for himself:

"It is not too early to begin to consider the major postwar problem of our student population. Once the war is done and demobilization on a large scale begins, we shall be confronted by a choice. We must either greatly expand to carry both the load of returned veterans plus students who will come to us from the secondary schools, *or we must increase the selectivity of our admissions.* So far as I can determine, we are all of one mind what should be done. We do not feel that we should be caught in such a cycle of *inflationary enrollments* as followed the last war. *For the education of the returning veterans is a temporary matter.* It will constitute a heavy load for a few years and then cease. Were we to expand plant and faculty to care for all we might attract, we would find ourselves at the end greatly overexpanded and with a most serious budgetary problem on our hands. This we simply cannot allow to happen. We shall be hospitable to the returned veterans and we shall be fair to the high-school graduates who want to come to us. *But we are not disposed to increase our student population beyond that of former days. It is possible that we shall even decrease it somewhat. This seems to all of us the wise policy to follow.*"—New York University Report of the Chancellor for the year 1943-44 (New York University, N. Y., 1944). (Emphasis mine—J.S.)

One quiet morning a few weeks ago every student received a letter saying

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that if they wanted to attend school in the fall it would cost them $1.50 more per point, $50 a year. Yes, Chancellor Chase's campaign to decrease the student population was already on. The administration knew about this increase during the spring semester (though the catalogue is dated May 1945). But they waited until most of the students were away during the summer before they pulled this trick.

At the University of Michigan, at Northwestern and other schools increases in tuition went into effect. Harvard, Yale and the University of Chicago published reports on curricula that would transform our universities into ivory towers and segregate students from a dynamic society. (At Dartmouth only a few days ago the administration announced that in order to prevent anti-Semitism a limited quota only of Jewish students would be allowed to attend. Where have we heard that before?) NYU is no isolated case; it seems to be part of a nation-wide pattern to make education the exclusive right of those who can afford to pay.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT had, in his Economic Bill of Rights, established the principle that every youth has the right to a free higher education. We in the AYD felt this issue couldn't pass unnoticed but had to be brought before the student body and the public to show how completely contradictory NYU's move was.

We charted a campaign to bring this issue to light and organized student protest against the increased tuition. Twenty-five hundred protest postcards to Chancellor Chase demanding the rescinding of the increased tuition were mailed in two days and some 10,000 leaflets explaining the various phases of the issue were distributed over a period of three days. A mass protest meeting was called under the auspices of the AYD and a student committee was formed to continue the fight. A resolution was passed condemning the undemocratic action of the administration and demanding the rescinding of the increased tuition. A representative of the NMU; Harold Collins, from the Jefferson School (a former High School teacher in the New York school system); Thelma Dale from the National Negro Congress and Eleanor Halpern, editor of the school paper, spoke. I myself made a report on how this issue affects the veterans. Statements from trade unions and teachers were read at the meeting and provided the basis for launching a nation wide campaign against any restriction of the fullest democratic education.

All of us who left our schools and shops to take our place at the front want to win the peace after our final victory.

The spirit of the GI Bill of Rights assures us free higher education, and any requirement to pay fees is a *violation* of that legislation. Veterans do not come under one classification, but three, and only for those under Public Law 16 (those with disabilities) are all costs met by the government. The $500 allowed us under the GI Bill will cover almost everything except books at NYU this fall and those vets (who were over twenty-five) studying under War Service Scholarships get $350 per year for school. NYU now charges $521 a year (plus other incidentals).

Our returning vets want increased democratic facilities: by allowing this reactionary trend to continue unchecked we will break faith with them. The NYU Club of American Youth for Democracy is asking for all outside support under the slogans "No Black Market in Education!" and "Make the Campus a Fortress of Democracy!"

NM SPOTLIGHT

Will You Have a Job?

AFTER V-J Day, with the war's end the attention of Americans turns to the problems of the future, especially the bread-and-butter future at home. For millions who face the loss of war jobs the joy of victory is clouded with foreboding. Post-V-J Day unemployment of as high as 10,000,000 has been predicted unless adequate measures are taken to prepare for reconversion. We must face the fact that V-J Day is here and no serious measures have been taken. Congress is on vacation. Mass unemployment looms.

The responsibility for leadership and swift action in this emergency falls on President Truman. He should at once act on the recent recommendation of the Mead Senate Committee investigating the national defense program and centralize the planning and coordination of all reconversion activities in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Price ceilings and many production controls need to be maintained if there is to be an orderly transition to a peacetime economy.

Second, the President should reconvene Congress without delay and request it to pass the reconversion legislation so callously ignored in face of urgent warnings. First on the order of business should be the emergency unemployment insurance bill which would increase rates up to $25 a week for a period of twenty-six weeks. This bill should be made *retroactive* to the time when unemployment begins. Another measure essential to bolster purchasing power is the Pepper bill for a sixty-five-cent an hour minimum wage. The Murray Full Employment Bill, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill, an adequate housing measure, the improvement of the GI Bill of Rights, and the establishment of a permanent and adequately financed Fair Employment Practice Committee —all these are indispensable for preventing serious dislocations in our economy. And the immediate authorization and financing of large-scale federal public works becomes as important today as military appropriations were during the war.

For months the labor movement has warned that unless adequate measures are adopted to safeguard consumers' income, the entire national economy will be undermined when the war plants close down. The danger is no longer in the future: it is here. Congress now has the supreme duty of bending all efforts toward overcoming the ill effects of its own complacence and irresponsibility. The millions of unemployed will not tolerate business-as-usual and Congress-as-usual practices.

Third, revision of wage policy be-

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comes another must for the maintenance of purchasing power. The Little Steel formula, which long before the end of the war had ceased to be justified, has now become a dangerous obstacle to reconversion and must be scrapped without delay. The joint AFL-CIO proposal for a twenty percent wage increase should be granted as an emergency measure to retard the drop in purchasing power.

Fourth, the long ignored CIO proposal for a national conference of government, labor and business representatives has now taken on new urgency. Such a conference, together with the establishment of labor-management production councils in each industry, could help direct all phases of the reconversion process with the least disturbance to the national economy and the minimum of human suffering.

All this will not come of itself. The great tasks of reconversion are a challenge to the labor movement to rally the people in a national effort that will bring action from President Truman, Congress and government agencies. The greatest military victory of all time confronts our nation with the danger of an economic disaster of dimensions inconceivable before the war. Our productive capacity has risen from $85,000,000,000 in 1939 to $200,000,000,000 in 1944. Overnight almost half of this productive capacity will close down and the men and women who operated the machinery will be out of work. It is not only the industrial workers who are threatened, but farmers, small businessmen, professionals and salaried employes. All have a common stake in joining to the utmost in the fight for full production and 60,000,000 jobs.

New York's Elections

IT GOES without saying that the stakes in the New York City mayoralty race are high. High in terms of municipal government of the world's largest city; high in terms of national, and ultimately, international goals. Progressives everywhere welcomed the recent showing of CIO's Richard Frankensteen, who got the highest vote for mayor in the Detroit municipal primaries; they are watching, with purposeful intent, events in New York's great metropolis. As Dr. Bella Dodd said the other day, it remains to be seen whether American progressives have learned the lesson of Labor's victory in Britain.

The stakes here, as our New York readers know, involve the strengthening or the weakening of the labor-democratic-Negro coalition, or the converse to that, growth or decline of Governor Dewey's GOP and the divisive Liberal Party leadership. Victory of the former guarantees the maintenance of the gains New York has made in the past dozen years under the La Guardia administration, and the projection of those gains. The voters must see to it that their most trusted champions, those tested in many a battle, are returned to office, men like the Communist councilmen Benjamin Davis and Peter V. Cacchione, and the ALP councilman from the Bronx, Michael J. Quill. New gains can be won in electing the candidates put up by the American Labor Party in Manhattan, the Bronx, Queens, and Brooklyn. Victory for these men will have nation-wide reverberations, imparting new confidence to the labor-democratic coalition everywhere.

Needless to say, the coalition would be immeasurably weakened if the ticket based on Judge Jonah Goldstein were to win. It stands in diametric opposition to the progressive coalition: it consists of Republicans led by Governor Dewey (and the nationally sinister forces he represents) and their allies, the Liberal Party chieftains, who are, as Raymond Walsh, chairman of the New York State Citizens Political Action Committee, said the other day, "so blinded by factional hatred that they would wreck the city, if necessary, to vent their private vengeance." Their candidate, Judge Goldstein, formerly associated with Tammany, and a gilt-edged Red-baiter in his own right, leaped the Tammany fences to ramble in pastures he hopes lead to a City Hall feed-box. If he wins, the Dewey statewide machine would be strengthened for the governor's ambitions in the 1946 gubernatorial race and the 1948 presidential campaign. Herbert Hoover and his reactionary industrialists would be mightily heartened.

The general pro-Roosevelt groupings are combined in the Democratic-American Labor Party ticket. The worst elements in the Democratic Party here — the Flynns and Kellys—suffered a setback when, despite their opposition, Brig.-General O'Dwyer was chosen, thus rendering possible the coalition with the ALP.

Unfortunately, complete unification of the pro-Roosevelt groupings has not been achieved. This is underscored by the discordant entry into the scene of a third slate, headed by Newbold Morris for mayor, and backed by Fiorello La Guardia. The No-Deal party is regarded by many as a factor which will hurt Goldstein's chances more than O'Dwyer's. But one dare not forget that Morris will get votes from Democrats as well as Republicans. And should the O'Dwyer forces submit to the pressures for Red-baiting, capitulate to them or appease them, Mr. Morris would undoubtedly get many more votes that would otherwise have gone to the Democratic-ALP coalition. And Governor Dewey's candidate, Goldstein, would benefit. It is a pity Mayor La Guardia and Mr. Morris did not come out unequivocally for the Democratic-ALP coalition which would be the surest guarantee of smashing the GOP-Liberal cabal.

These factors indicate the imperative need to strengthen the pro-Roosevelt coalition: we urge our readers to throw every ounce of effort into the campaign behind the Democratic-ALP slate. At the same time we must never overlook the danger to Councilman Davis's re-election. He represents, in himself, and his record, the unity of the great masses of progressive white and Negro voters, and his victory must be at the top of the list.

Simultaneously, the Brooklyn stalwart, Councilman Cacchione, must go back to the Council, as well as Michael Quill. All this means that every New York progressive has a big responsibility before him. It is not enough for him to vote right on November 6. What he does before that day spells the difference between victory and defeat.

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READERS' FORUM

Dear Readers:

WE WISH to thank you for the many letters we have been receiving: they have been most helpful. However, due to the press of world events and the consequent space problems of the magazine, we have not been able to publish them all. We have been obliged to select those which have been most typical. Quite a few of them have been over-long, and we had to cut their size, as we indicated to our readers in advance, in order to get more expressions into these pages.

Throughout this period, while we have been receiving these letters, the editors have been holding a series of meetings discussing the fundamental questions of the magazine, and next week we shall start publication of some of our tentative conclusions. Your letters have been very helpful for our discussions. However, we now urge our readers to aid us along the following lines: first, indicate specifically what you like or do not like about NM as a magazine—its political coverage, its international and domestic articles, its cultural material, its cartoons, its Spotlight section, etc. Most important, write us what is doing and being said in your part of the country. You can make real contributions to our coverage of the nation's life and thinking in this way, and to our understanding.

In brief, what we want now are specific suggestions; proposals and information. This will help us as we continue these meetings, which today are being held with collaborators of the magazine. Shortly after Labor Day we plan to extend them into a series of meetings with our readers throughout the country.

Events are marching with blitz-like speed, and the nation faces the giant problems of peace, even as we celebrate the end of war. It is glaringly true that our country's economy is tragically unprepared for the conversion to peacetime, and we can expect vast issues to arise swiftly for solution. For these reasons we want the fullest cooperation of our readers to make this magazine one at maximum.

Will you, please, keep in mind that the letters should be shorter than 800 words, and as concrete as possible?

THE EDITORS.

A Few Suggestions

NEW MASSES: You invite suggestions, so here goes. A few days back I renewed my subscription, making it two years this time. Had you not got back on the main track of Marxian thinking, I would not have renewed subscription for even one year.

1. Enough said about your change of tactics; forget it in other issues—other material is more important.

2. Marxian criticism of current events is excellent, but more articles on what constitutes a socialist state would give your non-socialist readers ideas that would displace their present confused ones. Criticism of what is, with no constructive ideas to replace them, leaves a void in one's mind.

3. Many of your book reviews are of books of little importance. Reviews of books such as Hewlett Johnson's second and more recent one, and others that contribute to better understanding of live issues—books you can recommend—would increase their circulation and do much more good.

4. Every issue should have some article describing in detail the functioning of the USSR's economic system. Give your readers ideas with which they can construct something better than what we now have.

5. The importance of the unity of organized labor, farmers and the progressive thinking masses should be urged continually. The labor victory in England should help in this.

Some other Dewey in 1948 can use the picture of Truman sitting between the Communist Stalin and the Socialist Attlee in smearing him as sympathetic to the Reds.

Wonder what our American masses will think of Truman, our chief executive, sitting in conference on world affairs and his conferees being one a representative of the largest and most powerful state in Europe and Asia, the other being the chief of the second most powerful state—one a Communist the other a Socialist? Then they view local anti-Communist propaganda and the constant smearing of those with like ideas of Stalin or Attlee. Your cartoon artists have excellent material here. C. V. WARNER.
Tampico, Mexico.

P.S. There must be a better unity and organization of labor, progressives and radicals before their influence will amount to much. This is the *all important* thing to accomplish at this time.

Enough Is Enough

TO NEW MASSES: God, but you must be overjoyed that C. B. Darwin has renewed his sub to your magazine and that he is "pleased beyond measure at the promise of returning to sanity among North American Communists." C. B. is evidently so self-sufficient, so uniquely sane and sensible that he can turn on and off his support of, and even his contact with, a leading Marxist magazine of high caliber and unquestionable sincerity such as NM. I wonder what he read during the time he spurned NM and just what he accomplished in the way of helping to mold himself and fellow progressives into the unity and solidarity that is one of the first requisites of any Marxist success. Or does C. B. contend that solidarity is no longer a requisite? At any rate, you too must be "devoutly thankful" that your policy once again coincides with the workings of that remarkable mind!

Then there is L.A.C. of Hollywood. He begs you to "get out of that misty, rosy-hued cloud and come down here amidst the wreckage and meet your readers." Is it as bad as all that? Certainly there are a few who can survive this change of policy and plunge into the work at hand. . . .

In response to the editors' demand for opinions of the readers, I want to say that my main objection is to some of the foaming at the mouth that has been cropping up in Readers' Forum. I have found the magazine as a whole quite informative, and, I think, up to high standards. Joel Bradford, Isidor Schneider and many of your other writers are as good as any in the world, and have more to say than many. On the whole, the Readers' Forum has had a very high level of contributions—it's just that a few of these like the ones I mentioned seem too narrow and inflexible to be constructive. I don't think that that sort of invective has a good effect on new readers, who can read such stuff any day in the big press. It is hard to believe that the volume of criticism of that type warrants the space you gave it in the July 24 issue. INFANTRY CORPORAL.
Ontario, Canada.

Show the Strength

TO NEW MASSES: Will you permit me, an old reader who had not seen a copy of NM for some time, to criticize the editorial of July 3, "The Ball-Hatch-Burton Bomb"? I offer this criticism with no claim to ability either as a theoretician or writer—it is merely the reaction of one ordinary rank-and-file reader. One other point: I have only lately arrived in this country.

Your editorial is in the nature of a warning. There are two ways in which a warning can be given. It can be given in such a way as to create fear and defeatism, or wariness, determination, confidence and skill in overcoming the danger. Perhaps you have heard

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a fussy mother overestimating peril to her child without giving the child a sense of its own ability to meet it. What is the child most likely to feel but helpless and afraid? The vigorous, confident child is angered.

Whatever Marxism I have absorbed, through study and action, has given me faith in and love of the working man and woman, an admiration for their courage, and boundless belief in their potential power. With that goes indignation at the insolence of those who still dare to believe they have a right to the wealth and power that is so obviously the right of the people—the people who should and will be sovereign. To me, therefore, the editorial on the "labor relations" bill infamy seemed weakly defeatist.

We know that the middle-class (of which I am a member) is wavering and uncertain, ready to ally itself with that side of the class struggle which seems the stronger. In my opinion, therefore, a magazine for middle-class readers should couch the truth in a style which gives that sense of strength and authority which is basic in all great Marxian writing. If I am right in assuming that the mass of NM readers are middle-class liberals, I may be right in assuming that they are largely individualists lacking the worker's appreciation of organized action gained through his trade union training. For this reason it seems to me he needs not only the facts, the correct emotional slant, but also a clear guide to action.

What I have tried to express above, and in the enclosed, will I think be received in the same spirit of sincerity in which it was sent by a humble rank-and-file reader who wishes to see a good magazine still better.

With best wishes to NM and its staff—especially that breath-takingly courageous Virginia Gardner whom I have admired across eleven thousand miles.

New York. N. S.

The Atomic Age

To New Masses: With the blast of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, the civilized world as we know it was blown across the threshold of a new age. The development of a method, even if primitive in its present stage, for controlling the breakdown of a selected atom, and the practical use of such knowledge, punctuated the end of our present age of metals and heralded the rising age of energy—the power age.

Atomic energy and its potential have long been known. Since Dalton, the theory of the atom has unfolded into a vista of great beauty, loaded with world-shaking potentialities for the betterment of mankind.

The Curies, Niels Bohr, Einstein and Compton, who worked their miracles in our time, have reached the day which can practically realize their theoretical labors. And for us all the future can be a bright one.

Tomorrow will not dawn with greater splendor, nor will the results of this work make its mark apparent, except in the vicinity of Japan—but it is certain that our world in half a century will be as new and as different as the contrast between the Victorian period and today.

The atom will provide electrical power and heat readily and cheaply. We will, through the immense energy at our command, be able to do many things unattainable at present. And this force will be so powerful that its utility can only be controlled in common, for the common welfare.

The social changes which are inherent in this achievement are revolutionary and we may be sure of their realization. The struggle to direct this force into proper channels may be sharp but we can rest assured that, from the very character of the new source of power, progress is on the side of the common man.

It is much too soon to predict what we may expect, of practical value, and when. At this writing the formal report dealing with the technical aspects of this development has not yet been issued. It is expected in a few days and at that time it may become possible for qualified experts to review the subject scientifically and dispassionately. If I feel qualified, I'll write again.

Michael H. I. Baker,
Consulting Chemical Engineer.
Chicago.

About Movie Criticism

To New Masses: May I draw your attention to the cobwebs and dust that make breathing difficult in your movie department? . . . I think NM's editors should seriously reevaluate the function of the movie critic of a left-wing weekly. (I use the word "critic" and not "reviewer" advisedly—there's a difference between the two words that should also be considered.) I fail to see how they can justify criticism that has no apparent point of view, that takes no cognizance of the film as *film*. We have had real critical writing on the films in our publication before—the names of Harry Alan Potamkin, Robert Stebbins and Peter Ellis come to mind. Each of these men was thoroughly grounded in the history of the art, the possibilities of the medium, and had an enthusiasm and vision that I find completely absent in NM. Too much of your criticism had been written with a don't-miss-this-one or don't-waste-your-time-on-this-one attitude. At one time you even ran capsule comments on a whole raft of current films. NM is not *Cue* or the *New Yorker*.

Not long ago you ran an article on the Screen Writers Guild's new publication. That was good, but I see no reason why you should not discuss some of the problems mentioned in your own columns. After all, enough people are seriously interested in the film to justify real critical writing on film problems in general. . . . Here are a few general topics that might be covered: The concept of character in American films; the documentary film today; the "new" Hollywood murder-mystery film; old films revisited (comments on revivals at the Museum of Modern Art). Robert Rahtz.
New York.

A National Theater

To New Masses: I read Miss Webster's speech on city centers and Sala Staw's letter on repertory theaters. . . . A repertory theater in each state of the Union is an idea that challenges the imagination and ingenuity of the best forces of the theater. It opens up vistas of terrific cultural growth all over the country. The government, both state and national, must finance so great a project. But first theaters, perfectly equipped to house the requirements of a repertory company, must be built in every state. I think that once the state has built and equipped the plant it will feel more inclined to keep up appropriations to keep the theater going in spite of political changes in the administration. Naturally, like all good things beneficial to the people, a national theater depends at all times on a progressive administration, both state and national. I cannot imagine a Senator Bilbo voting appropriations for a national repertory theater. . . .

One must not forget that it takes years of working together under intelligent creative guidance of the finest directors to develop a company capable of playing great plays greatly. It takes years to work in a repertory varied and large enough to comprise the best plays at our command. But once built, a company like that is a rare treasure of art which any state will be proud to call its own.

The time has come for a body like the Committee for Arts and Sciences to get together with our progressives in Congress to write a bill, to present it, and to organize support for this bill all over the country. The people want a theater. We, the people of the theater, want a theater. We have served well during this war. We always have served the best interests of our country, as a body. We deserve a future. Our people deserve the best theater at the lowest possible admission prices. So, let's get together.

John Shelley.
New York.

Edith Miller.

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THEATER AND THE CASH REGISTER

By MATT WAYNE

THE FERVENT YEARS, *by Herold Clurman. Knopf. $3.50.*

THERE GOES AN ACTOR, *by Alexander Granach. Doubleday Doran. $2.75.*

A. WOOLLCOTT, *by Samuel Hopkins Adams. Reynal & Hitchcock. $3.50.*

ALTHOUGH written completely independently, these three books, when read as a group, begin to take on the stature of a single historical document whose meaning for us should be solemnly considered, for together they tell a story of human waste so gigantic as nearly to overwhelm one with a sense of defeat.

The Fervent Years is the story of the founding and the foundering of the Group Theater as told by Harold Clurman, its director and mainstay. To anyone who watched the rise of the Group and found in its productions the most creative and exciting theater America has yet evolved, this secret history, as it were, of its struggles to exist as an organized and continuous theater is filled with answers to many questions previously left to gossip, malicious and otherwise.

The central question is why the Group failed even after it finally brought forth a real Broadway hit. Practically every other consideration, artistic and temperamental, hinges on this one. For if it could not, as a group, find stability through the financial and artistic success that *Golden Boy* was, it certainly could expect only total defeat thereafter. Unfortunately, Clurman has overwritten his explanation to the point where one is at a loss to put a finger on the cause of the failure. Some members of the Group, he explains, were lured to Hollywood, others found parts in independent productions and drifted away; and always there was the nightmare of conflicting theories of leadership, commercialism and social purpose.

What comes out of *The Fervent Years* most clearly is the picture of a little organism struggling to develop its individual art-soul from within, and trying to hold off the temptations and the attacks of the Broadway system of low taste and big money. It is reminiscent of Robert Owen's attempt at raising a little socialist island in the sea of capitalism—the same heartbreaking failure, after the same temporary exhilarations of success.

One positive and lasting effect the Group did have, however. It showed America for a fleeting moment what *organized* theater can create. And its falling comet threw into high relief the

Song of Rivatchka

Little Rivatchka, sob out of Russia,
Was aching to drown New York
In the vodka of her love,
And through the midnight wild
Called stone and steel and shadow
To the warm roost of her breast.

Little nobody torn from the steppes,
Vast soul of wild mare broken
On a rack of alien tongues,
Since she had not the speech
To give her love to people,
She'd give her love to the massed
Shadow and steel and stone.

With a voice that was nearly all
The clover of the tundras
She called the buildings to her
As of old she called her chicks
In the farmyards of Kazan.

O long and long she called,
Till crows of rust were cawing
Round a moon of stainless steel—
O long!
Till the huddled beasts of brick
Came almost to stampeding
From their cruel paralysis,
Then remembered they were stone
And flapped their steel ears shut.

And Rivatchka's tired little fists,
Tautened to fragrant hammers
Of a temporary despair,
Smashed all her love's tall glasses
Against the morning air!

ROBERT WHITTINGTON.

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poverty of commercial theater. But waste is its keynote, and its echo is sad.

The same note is struck in the late Alexander Granach's biographical cadenza, *There Goes an Actor*. With abounding joy he describes his picaresque life in the Europe before World War I, and his war years. But his too is the story of waste. For this son of poor Jewish peasants climbs and fights and elbows his way into the theater, has his knock-kneed legs broken and straightened in order to appear well on the stage, goes through a lifelong struggle for the right to express his talent, only to find—his book is the testimony—that the amount of time he actually spent creating and acting was practically nothing compared to the time wasted in simply trying to be where he could act.

First it is poverty and then war that cuts huge chunks out of his creative life. As in Clurman's book, we are confronted with great talent thirsting for expression, sacrificing everything for the right simply to give itself to the world and so thwarted and warped by the surrounding money economy as to make nearly impossible its mature fruition. Granach's book in its robust, backstage way is more important as a picture of the artist under capitalism than many a novel purposely written to make that point. It is salty and rude and revealing, not only of its author but his chaotic times. Almost symbolic is the description of Max Reinhardt's theater, the apogee in Europe of organized theater, which reached its flowering at the precise moment of the outbreak of World War I. Here is the evidence that the theater has not failed capitalist society, but that capitalism has throttled the theater. The reading of Granach's book might do a little for Clurman who, in perfect honesty, veers away from this obvious conclusion. There was just as much temperament in Reinhardt's actors as there was in Clurman's, but it took a World War to destroy the former, while the latter disappeared in the first wind of our pre-war fever. Clurman is most precise about the difficulties he had with actors who were at odds trying to work together, but he becomes mystical and overly cautious when ascribing any guilt for the Group's failure to the American economic system.

Clurman and Granach, whatever their shortcomings, share an honest, creative love for the theater as art, not as business. Compare them with their critic, one Alexander Woollcott, and a symbol of their enemy begins to take his weird and overfed shape. Woollcott, as painted by Samuel Hopkins Adams, combines all the yearnings and fears of a Granach and a Clurman, except that in him everything is upside down. Where they sacrificed to create he bled himself pink in order to make more and more money. The book is a competent though dully written explanation of how a man with a wisecrack can become one of the chief arbiters of theater in America's largest city.

Drawing for a Post Office mural of the San Francisco Fire, by Anton Refregier.

It is almost impossible to equate what Granach and Clurman were striving for with what Woollcott thought of as good theater. Here was a man whose job it was to tell America whether a theater piece was worthy or not, and who made the astonishing discovery in his later years that the secret of good acting was "to throw your lines away." As a book, *A. Woollcott* will entertain anyone with a curiosity for the inner workings of so celebrated a figure, and as such it is apt and wry. But if one considers Woollcott not in his cuteness but as the man thrown up by our society to express its reaction to art, both literary and theat-

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rical, the fight of Granach and Clurman to reflect life on the stage becomes clear and simple. What they were struggling against was a society whose lust for money and power stamps out even the most meager strivings toward the expression of man's true nature. In this is the lesson for all who have seen life in its rawest these last years and who would bring their visions into the theater. Your prerequisites are first, talent; and second, a precise evaluation of the city you would convert to your art.

Margaret Webster's call for a nationwide system of community theaters seems to this writer an inevitable beginning step. The worst thing that can happen, however, is to underestimate the cost of such a project and to make it appear an investment for profit. If one thing is clear in these three books it is that the frail song of art will not be heard so long as the accompanist is still playing on the cash register.

Barmine vs. Russia

ONE WHO SURVIVED, *by Alexander Barmine, with an introduction by Max Eastman. Putnam. $3.75.*

THE real and incontrovertible facts about the Soviet Union and its inner workings, as revealed by the great test by fire and steel, have pulled the market out from under offerings of this sort. Soviet traitors and deserters floating around, looking for a handout, are few; and most responsible publishers hesitate to publish such obvious professional slanders. That master of calumny, Don Basilio of *Barber of Seville* fame, booms in his grand aria: *"La calunnia e un venticello, e leggero e sottile."* Well, *One Who Survived* is neither light nor subtle.

In his foreword to the book Max Eastman makes an amazing statement. He claims that the fact that the progressive movement never printed a word about (or against) Mr. Barmine until this book appeared on the market *". . . is a tribute primarily, of course, to his [Barmine's] reliability."* The reasoning is really breath-taking. It is perhaps the main reason which compelled me to touch Mr. Barmine's dirty linen at all. Three hundred and twenty-eight pages of vituperation and repetitious lies interwoven with rather nice descriptions of scenery and nature, *a la* Leon Trotsky, does not make pretty reading.

Being a military man, this reviewer plunges into the scant, but revealing, military "ideas" of the former "Red Army general" and "graduate of the Soviet War College." One such "idea" is noteworthy: in the epilogue to the book, probably rewritten just before publication, Mr. Barmine says: "The defense of Leningrad was a military success; but Leningrad might, *without altering the fortunes of war,* have been declared an open city. . . . Stalin is reckless of human lives." (My emphasis—S.K.) Now, when a General Staff officer (and supposedly a general officer at that) says that the surrender of Leningrad would not have altered the fortunes of war—*on n'a plus qu'a tirer l'echelle,* as the French say, because every cadet in military school understands by now that *Leningrad is the northern key to Moscow* and that General Hoffman's Eastern Plan was based precisely on the so-called Baltic March whose strategic objective was Leningrad with its nexus of communications.

Another interesting historical item is the intimation that Stalin inspired Kirov's murder. Just imagine an American historian writing, for instance, "It is impossible to say at what point General Grant began to fear the consequences of the new course. The prodigious rising popularity of Lincoln and his policy obviously alarmed him. . . . Some time later Lincoln was shot and killed." Just substitute Kirov for Lincoln and Stalin for Grant and you will have Mr. Barmine's statement on page 248. Anybody knowing anything about the close collaboration between Stalin and Kirov as well as their friendship will simply be nauseated by this slander.

In his choice of "authorities" Mr. Barmine is not very subtle either. He seems to think that all his readers are dopes, politically speaking. Of course, he leans heavily on Trotsky, whom he describes as possessing "proud passivity and quixotism" (compare with D. Fedotoff-White, who in his book *The Growth of the Red Army* calls Trotsky "that Puritan People's Commissar for War." What an affinity of evaluation between the deserter and the unregenerate Socialist-Revolutionary *emigre!*) His other "authoritative sources" on internal Soviet conditions, policies, intentions, etc., are: William A. White, Max Eastman, William Henry Chamberlin and (hold your breath!) Archbishop Curley of Baltimore! But this is not all: a certain Boris Nikolaevsky, one of the most rabid Soviet-baiters of New York's East Side and contributor to the *New Leader,* is presented as "a socialist scholar of international reputation who has no personal reason whatever for an animus against Stalin." This is like saying that Senator Bilbo has no animus against Marcantonio. (Oh, yes, and then there

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is Boris Souvarine, who is also "an authoritative source.")

In Barmine's book, hundreds of people are introduced seemingly with the sole object of reporting them either "shot in the purge" or "vanished in the purge." One of the few exceptions, if not the only one, is Mme. Alexandra Kollontay, who is mentioned in a footnote on page ninety-two and about whom Barmine writes: "For some unaccountable reason she accepts the dictatorship and remains in Stalin's good graces." No wonder this Eastman-Barmine stuff was used in excerpts by the Germans in leaflets "shot" at Allied troops in Italy to undermine their morale and incite them against the Soviet Union.

Mr. Barmine's explanation of the Soviet victory might as well have come from Field Marshal von Rundstedt or Reichsmarshal Goering: "It happened because of the vast spaces, the snow, the mud, the lend-lease aid and, most decisive, the fierce resistance of the Russian people." A statement typical of Nazis, emigre lackeys and native fascists.

In conclusion I can only endorse the opinions with which the New York *Herald Tribune's* reviewer closed his critique: "At the present critical moment in history *One Who Survived* makes dismal reading indeed . . ." and of the New York *Times'* reviewer: ". . . [the book] can be only destructive insofar as it may affect present-day efforts to establish a basis for Russian-American friendship and future world peace." And this, we may add, is precisely what it was intended to be.

SERGEI KOURNAKOFF.

Free Italy's First Novel

THE PINE TREE AND THE MOLE, *by Ezio Taddei. Translated from the Italian by Samuel Putnam. Dial Press. $2.50.*

MUSSOLINI'S march on Rome not only dragged a curtain over Italy's political life but immediately blacked out its literature. As Mr. Putnam notes in his preface, only one novel appeared in fascist Italy that was worth any critical consideration whatever. This was Alberti Moravia's *The Indifferent Ones*, which went as far as a sensitive writer seemed able to go in picturing life in the "Fascist Epoch." The tragically lost Italian generation of that "epoch" was left with only one recourse—the indifference described in the title.

Now the Fascist drought is over and from reports that have reached us a tremendous literary activity is restocking the land. A precursor and example of that activity is this book, which may be considered the first novel of the post-fascist Italian literature, though it was composed in America. It is the work of a revolutionist from the seaport of Livorno who, after enduring years of imprisonment, escaped to France in 1938 and from thence to America.

The Pine Tree and the Mole is, in some ways, a direct reflection of the author's life. Ezio Taddei was the son of a middle-class professional family in Livorno. His revolutionary activities, which began in his boyhood, led to his arrest at the age of thirteen. On his release he found the doors of his family shut to him. He turned to a vagabond life among the anarchists, whose fringes dipped into the Livorno underworld. The characters of the novel are mainly drawn from these two milieus, and the action swings between them.

Essentially the book is a study of the monstrous alliance of the ruling class and the underworld, the family origin of all fascisms. Here we see it occurring in the anterooms of the courts of Livorno, where justice is prostituted for the sake of a well-connected pimp. We see it in the careers, which meet at more than one point, of an up-and-coming lawyer who sets his ambitions in politics, and of a hobo who falls into the soft berth of lover of a procuress. The ambitious lawyer looks first toward the Socialists, who then appear to be on the road to power. With well-oiled opportunism he shifts to the Blackshirts when the wheel takes that turn. In the lively course of his corruption he betrays his friends and even his family; among other achievements he seduces his best friend's wife, doing so less out of love than the calculation that the affair will give him a certain kind of prestige useful to a young man rising in corrupt bourgeois circles.

The hobo, drunk with the luxuries of a kept man whose new felicity depends on police tolerance, becomes a police agent. He too betrays his friends, among them members of a surviving anarchist group. As a mere bum there were limits to his degradation; but as an accepted figure of the fascist "epoch" nothing is too low. In the merging of his career with the lawyer's the course of fascist corruption completes its circle.

The Pine Tree and the Mole is extremely effective in making this corruption evident. Its settings are colorful and its movement is vigorous. It suffers, however, from a defect rather frequent in revolutionary novels: its good people are shadowy compared with its villains.

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Betty Millard.

But even the villains here are not too well realized. For example, in the first lines of the portrait of the careerist lawyer, he appears as a rather sympathetic figure and the reader is unprepared for his sudden descent into opportunist intrigue. The final stage, his disillusion, is equally unprepared for; and the portrait as a whole comes to its conclusion not in inevitable action, but in a symbol, striking in itself, but in which, as far as portraiture is concerned, the character simply evaporates.

Since action is rooted in character this results in a comparatively motiveless story plotting which is further confused by a lack of definition in the historical background. The historical events which determine the decisions of the characters are at most merely alluded to and their later significance comes as a surprise to the reader. It may be that, for an Italian audience, the allusions are enough, though I doubt it; but they certainly are not enough for other readers.

These things keep *The Pine Tree and the Mole* from being a full realization of Taddei's obvious fictional talents. Nevertheless, the book remains a revealing flashback into the political and human origins of fascism. It reminds us that the situation which led to fascism is not unique; that similar preconditions for fascism are by no means absent here nor the groups who will strive to bring them to maturity.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

To Make Man Free

THE POETRY OF FREEDOM. *Edited by William Rose Benet and William Cousins. Random House. $3.*

IT IS well to have a collection of poetry like this today. Such an anthology proves that every country has had its history of struggle against oppression. And if I have any quarrel with the editors' very humble and earnest introduction it is only this: they have let the poetry speak a little too much for itself. This anthology could have had further editing in the shape of short histories of the countries whose poetry is represented so that the reader could easily have seen what the oppressions were, their dates, their precise forms and, therefore, what the poets spoke for and against.

Where one knows the history of the country well it is easy to trace, in this book, the slow liberation of the common people. Freedom to worship is often basically an economic freedom and even freedom to love may indicate class equalities and inequalities. Since I know English and American history best, I could most easily see mirrored in this poetry the entire poltiical and economic history of the respective countries. Nowhere, for example, does the problem of racial equality or injustice loom so clearly as in the American poetry. True, as the editors say, old poets sound curiously modern at times; nevertheless one could date these poems on hearing because of certain terms which come to stand for justice or injustice. True and perhaps with reason, the most revolutionary poems of the laboring class come out of England—not America. The reasons are obvious. The laborer there was politically conscious as the American laborer is only very slowly learning to be. As for freedom through revolution, perhaps the Spanish poets have given us the most tragic poems on this subject. Or perhaps the Russian poets are not fully represented.

The collection is acknowledged to be incomplete. Such a collection always will be. It is limited by its editors' knowledge, too, of literature, for they are most familiar, doubtless, with the English and American poets. Even these they have not given us as fully as, perhaps, someone else might. There will be much more of this Poetry of Freedom published soon, we think, for the younger poets of war have not yet spoken. And then, perhaps, these editors will enlarge their collection.

EDA LOU WALTON.

Brief Reviews

STEPHEN HERO, *by James Joyce. New Directions. $3.50.*

THIS earlier version of Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* has several values. Though it is incomplete it is not fragmentary and is enough in itself to make an interesting book. It is more closely autobiographical than

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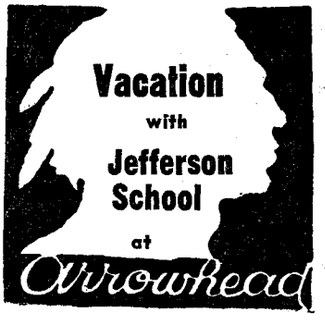

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the later finished *Portrait;* and as a variant of his most accessible book it provides insights into the development of one of the great modern masters.

THROUGH JAPANESE EYES, *by Otto D. Tolischus. Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.*

MR. TOLISCHUS has put together quotations from Japanese official documents, textbooks, spokesmen and other authoritative sources that add together to a Japanese *Mein Kampf,* a self-indictment of the "master race" of the Orient.

The Mighty Atom

(*Continued from page* 14)

unvoidable. As Professor Haldane remarked, in calling for the nationalization in all countries of atomic power, "the whole world would become rich." Thus, the full use of atomic power is irreconcilable with capitalism under which poverty is nationalized and wealth is reserved for the few.

It is also a fact that the work on the atomic bomb was initiated, organized and directed by the British and American governments rather than by private industry. Nor is its release to private enterprise being contemplated, at least officially. In other words, the use of atomic energy has been developed as a socialized project, divorced from control by private interests in any of its phases. There are good reasons for this. Research and initial outlay have been so vast that private industry had neither the means nor the incentive. Private enterprise has also too great an economic stake in the established forms of energy to undertake the release of so formidable a competitor. The application of atomic power means the rapid obsolescence of the whole physical machinery of our civilization. Moreover, once the use of atomic energy is fully developed, it would be so cheap that there would be little or no profit in its sale.

There will be those in business and government, who, fearing the economic threat to vested interests inherent in atomic power, may seek the suppression of the discovery. There are ample precedents for this sort of thing; the American Telephone and Telegraph Corp., for example, has admitted the buying up and suppression of some 8,000 separate patent improvements of the telephone. It therefore is of direct concern to the peoples of all countries that atomic power remain out of private hands and be developed by governments under effective democratic controls and for democratic ends.

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FILMS

THE best war spy films ever made have their implausible moments, and *Military Secret*, new Soviet film at the Stanley, is no exception. But then, what's more implausible than spying itself? And the program calls this an "actual report of espionage and counter-espionage activities during the war."

Engineer Leontiev has developed a gun that the Germans want badly to know about. The Red Army is just as determined to outfox them. The result makes a film that moves fast and packs a punch.

But even if the picture (as a picture) doesn't rank with the best Soviet films, it has at least one element that is utterly dependable—the acting. Nowhere outside the Russian films, it seems, is acting seriously and consistently regarded as an art. Remember the besotted father in the hilarious Chekhov comedy, *Marriage?* Here he is the Secret Service Commissar. And only later, when you learn that fact in the program, do you realize that the terrifically funny Chekhov character and the relentless commissar were played by the same man. The same artist, if you please.

Incidentally, it may come as a surprise that despite the thoroughgoing roundup of fifth-columnists and wreckers in the Soviet Union before the war, there were still enough of them operating to give the security police some bad moments. There's a lesson there. The Russians were very serious about cleaning out their traitors, were probably as efficient as anybody could be. And yet some slipped through to continue their work for the enemy. What about the fascists and near-fascists in our own USA? Most of them don't even bother to work underground. Some are on the radio networks, some of them publish great newspapers, and apparently there are some in Congress.

While not an outstanding Russian film, *Military Secret* towers above most of the junk now littering the city's movie houses. *May Day in Moscow* and *A Nation Dances*, also on the bill, are extremely well worth seeing. The dance film was made of a festival held in Moscow in the Autumn of 1941. "Note the date," as Erskine Caldwell says in his commentary.

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